

SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES

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SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES

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SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES IN INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING IN THE UNITED STATES

Fourth Report: The Centennial Year 1957-58

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AND

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1. Introduction

THE FIRST hundred years of continuous Scandinavian studies in the United States have just been rounded. Two chairs established simultaneously in 1858 opened the period—one at Illinois State University¹ and the other at New York University. Although the former was short-lived and the latter abortive, they signaled a ripening of interest that quickly spread to other places, so that no year elapsed thereafter without some kind of Scandinavian program among the nation's institutions of learning.

The academic year 1957-58 also marks completion of the first decade of systematic surveys of Scandinavian studies in the United States. The authors began a project in 1947 of collecting information at intervals of four years (now shortened to three) in order to determine enrollment trends and study the effects of immigration history on the curricula of universities, colleges and high schools. Interim reports have been published in *Scandinavian Studies* (August 1947, November 1951, November 1955 and August 1956), giving indexes of institutions, courses and faculties, as well as enrollment statistics and general observations. If the surveys can be continued periodically, they

¹ Founded in 1839 as Luther Academy, Hillsboro, Illinois; changed its name to Hillsboro College in 1847; moved to Springfield in 1852 under the name Illinois State University (but did not actually become a university). A Scandinavian group withdrew from the institution in 1860 to found Augustana College at Chicago. In 1863, Augustana moved to Paxton and twelve years later to its present location at Rock Island. The school that remained at Springfield closed seven years later.

should eventually provide sufficient study-material to demonstrate the inter-play between area studies and a declining immigrant culture.

A brief historical review, based largely on material collected by Esther Chilstrom Meixner in 1940,² was presented in our first report. It showed how Scandinavian studies first spread through the denominational schools that had been founded by immigrant communities, particularly between 1870 and 1917, and how they later found entry into certain universities. At the turn of the century they were also introduced into high schools located in Scandinavian areas, flourishing there until 1917, when the unfavorable atmosphere of World War I severely reduced all foreign language studies in the United States. The recovery experienced in the 1930's was interrupted by World War II, but the figures for 1946 reflected a very favorable post-war attitude. Tables II B and III show that the years covered by our surveys have been marked by a steady over-all decline in Scandinavian studies, particularly noticeable in the high schools.

The design of our questionnaires and the method of handling them have remained essentially unchanged since the survey of 1954-55; new readers who wish information on survey procedures are therefore referred to the November 1955 report, pp. 174-177.

2. Current Situation and Trends

In the Autumn of 1957 there were 2,266 enrollments in Scandinavian courses of all kinds in the universities, colleges and high schools of the United States (Table II A). This represents a decrease of 56 enrollments (or only 2%) since 1954, and indicates that the decline evident ever since 1940 has lost its momentum. A study of Table II B reveals, in fact, that the over-all decrease has been brought about entirely by the situation in the colleges and high schools, and that the universities have enjoyed a 21% increase from 694 in 1954 to 839 in 1957. The 9% decrease among the colleges brings them to the lowest figure thus far experienced—1,064.³ And the 21% decrease among the high schools also brings them to a record low—363 enrollments.

² Esther Chilstrom Meixner, *The Teaching of the Scandinavian Languages and Literatures in the United States*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1941.

³ As this report goes to press, replies have not been received from Bryn Mawr or from Pennsylvania State College. The combined enrollment of these two institutions in Scandinavian courses in Autumn 1954 was only 5, however, and there seems to be small likelihood that their returns could significantly alter the picture for 1957.

Further comparison of the 1957 figures with those of 1954 brings to light the surprising fact that non-language courses (literature, history, etc.) with their 11% decrease were the heaviest contributors to the over-all decline, and that a strong increase among the language courses in the universities brought about an over-all language increase of slightly less than 1%.

The loss of 12 institutions from the Scandinavian field and the addition of 3 (Tables III and IV) resulted in a drop from 66 in 1954 to 57 in 1957. Nine of the institutions lost were colleges (including two from which no replies were received).

Table I indicates by means of asterisks which courses actually were taught in 1957-58. Courses without asterisks either were not offered in this year or for some other reason (e.g., low enrollment) failed to materialize. In three of the universities and three of the colleges listed, no offerings whatsoever were being taught in 1957-58, so that of the 57 institutions, only 51 were active. A discrepancy of this sort should be expected in every survey because such subjects as for instance Old Norse/Icelandic are in many places not given every year. Institutions with very few offerings are therefore likely to drop out of the picture periodically as far as classroom work is concerned, unless they are closely supported by Scandinavian communities.

The different Scandinavian languages retained their usual order of strength, with Norwegian first, Swedish next, and Danish and Icelandic far behind. For the first time since these surveys were initiated, however, the over-all Norwegian margin over Swedish diminished—from 33% in 1954 to 17% in 1957. On the other hand, the consistent Swedish margin over Norwegian in universities alone dropped from 26% in 1954 to 19% in 1957. This suggests a slight trend toward leveling of Norwegian and Swedish in relation to each other, but many shifting undercurrents may yet appear before the main trend can once more be discerned. There is no reason at present to modify our view that the relationship between Norwegian and Swedish enrollments is a manifestation of principles of language-retention established by Haugen.⁴

⁴ See Einar Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1953, Vol. I, pp. 288 ff.; also Hedin Bronner, "Student Motivation in Scandinavian Courses in the United States," *Scandinavian Studies*, August 1956, pp. 104-105, 107.

Danish enrollments increased from 42 to 55, but Old Norse/Icelandic suffered another disappointing reduction from 43 to a mere 29.

Curiously enough the number of individuals engaged in teaching Scandinavian subjects dropped only insignificantly—from 108 to 106. Scandinavian-born faculty members constituted 44% of the total, as against 41% in 1954, 42% in 1950, and 37% in 1947.⁵

In the academic year 1957-58, a total of 10 doctoral dissertations on Scandinavian subjects were completed or in preparation at 8 of the institutions in our list. This encouraging trend is emphasized by the fact that the Scandinavian Department of the University of California in Berkeley has recently been empowered to present candidates for the Ph.D. degree in Scandinavian.

3. Comments and Conclusions

The trend of enrollments from lower towards higher institutions of learning continues, with great losses among the high schools, moderate losses among the colleges, and appreciable gains among the universities. The reduction in number of institutions offering Scandinavian is proportionately greater than the reduction in enrollments. This signifies a continuing shift of Scandinavian studies away from the smaller schools dominated by Scandinavian immigrant communities, and a concentration into schools with larger programs and into higher academic levels.

The general gain in language as contrasted with non-language enrollments may go hand in hand with losses in Old Norse/Icelandic to reflect an increased demand for languages as tools in practical work rather than as subjects of purely academic interest. Table I lists several courses described as "Intensive," "Spoken," or "Conversational"—terms which were virtually absent from the early reports of this series.

As we have pointed out earlier, the sharp reduction in the number of high schools and in their enrollments is probably due to the fact that the offspring of the last great immigration wave have reached an age when they are no longer represented in this level of education. Recent developments in the United States, however, argue against any firm conclusion that Scandinavian studies in high schools are al-

⁵ The percentages given on p. 179 of the 1954 report applied to non-Scandinavians but were erroneously described as Scandinavian.

together doomed. It has frequently been demonstrated that outside influences can easily encourage or stimulate Scandinavian studies in any area, and indeed it sometimes appears necessary only to remove unfavorable influences (e.g. Isolationist prejudice as in World War I, refusal of school authorities to grant language-credit, or insistence upon minimum enrollments) for such studies to blossom forth spontaneously. The outside influences from which high school language programs can draw some measure of hope take the form of conferences, study groups and publications of responsible American organizations which in recent years have exposed the Philistine attitudes of some school administrators and have offered practical recommendations for bringing language-teaching programs up to respectable standards. The Allerton House Conference on Education, for instance, set up a study group on foreign-language teaching in Illinois in 1953, and published the results in an inspiring booklet which urgently calls for expanded and improved foreign-language teaching facilities in high schools and for coordination between secondary and college level programs.⁶ And the Office of Education of the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in a work conference held in May 1957, supported the policies of the Modern Language Association in this direction, further recommending that "... each state, following the example of Illinois, New Hampshire and Connecticut, survey the modern language teaching in its schools."⁷

A report published by Kenneth W. Mildenerger in 1956 reveals that language teaching in elementary schools has been growing by leaps and bounds⁸ and that in the one year 1954-55 an increase of 62,000 enrollments brought the total up to at least 271,617. If this trend gains momentum and awakens a widespread progressive attitude towards language teaching, it may well be that interested groups like the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study and the Scandinavian sections of the Modern Language Association and the Mod-

⁶ *Foreign Language Teaching in Illinois*, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, 1957.

⁷ Marjorie Johnston, "Modern Foreign Languages in the High School," *School Life*, June 1957, pp. 8, 9. (Reprinted by U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.)

⁸ Kenneth W. Mildenerger, *Status of Foreign Language Study in American Elementary Schools 1955*, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, 1956.

ern Language Teachers' Association can successfully promote the continued inclusion of Scandinavian offerings in high schools from which they might otherwise be expected to disappear. The excellent work of the American-Scandinavian Foundation in cultivating a receptive public also deserves mention here. Perhaps a channel of this work could be focused more specifically on the high schools.

One of the main problems in the encouragement of Scandinavian programs at any level is the question of college credit. Only when the Scandinavian courses in a college are given full credit for prevailing academic requirements, on par with other courses, will they flourish and maintain their normal position. And only then will the colleges in question also be prepared to grant normal credit for high-school courses in Scandinavian offered towards entrance requirements. In some areas this undoubtedly constitutes a vicious circle today. A college administration that ostensibly approves Scandinavian offerings in its curriculum, but sets up a minimum enrollment requirement (typically 20 students per class) and at the same time limits or refuses credit for such courses, is in fact denying them a reasonable chance to materialize. A qualified instructor and interested students are thus prevented from demonstrating the potentialities of this field or of stimulating healthy lateral activities such as clubs and societies. In the background of such an environment there lurks an impression that Scandinavian studies are neither interesting nor useful. How can it be expected, in an atmosphere like this, that the submittal of Scandinavian high-school credits for entrance requirements will be met with sympathy?

That this at times is the fate of Scandinavian programs in the United States is fortunately no indication of prejudice directed specifically against them. It is rather a reflection of general reluctance on the part of some administrations to recognize the growing importance of language and area studies in our contracting world—a feeling, as it were, that free cultivation of more than the one or two so-called major languages is foolishness. Those who may feel that this is an exaggeration are reminded that at least one state in the Union prohibits state schools by law from making *any* language study a requirement for graduation.

Fortunately, however, the brighter side of the picture at present outweighs the darker. The over-all decline in Scandinavian enroll-

ments probably is not out of proportion to a general reduction in language studies following the post-war boom. The numerous new courses in Table I listed as planned for 1958-59 indicate that if a survey were to be made next year, appreciably higher enrollment figures might be found at university and college level. This, together with increasing demands from educational organizations and the thinking public for reformed attitudes towards language teaching (and implicitly towards area studies), should spark intensified efforts on the part of teachers and scholars at all levels to carry on "public relations" work for their programs. Continued support from within and without may decisively influence the destiny of Scandinavian studies in their second hundred years.

The Tables are given on the following pages.

TABLE I
INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING IN THE UNITED STATES
OFFERING SCANDINAVIAN COURSES IN 1957-58

Note: Asterisk (*) means classes actually in session 1957-58.

Q—Quarters; S—Semesters; Sum—Summer Session.

Prof. means full, associate, or assistant professor (lower teaching titles not given).

Name of Institution; Faculty in Scandinavian	Scandinavian Subjects Offered	Duration
I. UNIVERSITIES		
1. Brigham Young University Provo, Utah Nils-Eric Brodin	*Begin. Swed.*	3Q
2. University of California Berkeley, Calif.	*Elem. Dan.	2S
Prof. Assar Janzén, Ph.D.	Interm. Dan.	2S
Prof. Håkon Hamre, Cand.Philol.	Adv. Dan.	2S
Prof. Madison S. Beeler, Ph.D.	*Elem. Norw.	2S
Prof. Børge G. Madsen, Ph.D.	*Interm. Norw.	2S
Eric O. Johannesson, M.A.	Adv. Norw.	2S
Carl Ördell, M.A.	*Elem. Swed.	2S
George Davis, M.A.	*Interm. Swed.	2S
Loftur Bjarnason, Ph.D.	*Adv. Swed.	2S
(Extension)	Old Icel. (Grad.)	1S
	Old Swed. (Grad.)	1S
	*Scand. Dialects (Grad.)	1S
	*Scand. Linguistics (Grad. seminar)	1S
	*Hist. of Scand. Lit. 1300-1850	1S
	*Hist. of Scand. Lit. 1850-WWII	1S
	*Hist. of Scand. Lit. WWII-Present	1S
	*Hist. of Scand. Drama to 1900	1S
	*Scand. Drama of 20th Cent.	1S
	*The Novel in Scand.	2S
	*The Plays of Ibsen	1S
	*Strindberg & His Writings	1S
	*Romanticism in Norway	1S
	*Masterpcs. of Old Norse Lit.	1S
	*Special study for Adv. Undergr.	2S
	Holberg & Oehlenschläger	1S
	Swed. Poets of 19th Cent.	1S

* No credit given.

TABLE I—Continued

Name of Institution; Faculty in Scandinavian	Scandinavian Subjects Offered	Duration
	*Readgs. of Old Icel. Sagas (Grad.)	1S
	*Poems of the Poetic Edda (Grad.)	1S
	*Seminar in Scand. Lit. (Grad.)	2S
	*Romanticism in Scand. (Grad.)	1S
	*Scand. Lit. of 20th Cent. (Grad.)	1S
	*Special Study for Grads.	2S
	Scand. Lit. 1200-1800 (Grad.)	1S
	Realism & Naturalism in Scand. Lit. (Grad.)	1S
	*Masterpcs. of 19th Cent. Lit. in Scand.	Sum-57
	*Masterpcs. of 20th Cent. Lit. in Scand.	Sum-57
	*Special Study for Adv. Undergr.	Sum-57
	*Mod. Icel. (Extension)	2S
	Mod. Icel. Lit. (Extension)	2S
3. University of California	Elem. Dan. & Norw. ¹⁰	1S
Los Angeles, Calif.	Interm. Dan. & Norw. ¹⁰	1S
Prof. Erik Wahlgren, Ph.D.	Old Icel. (Grad.) ¹¹	1S
	*Swed.	2S
	*Scand. Lit. in Transl. (to 1750)	1S
	*Scand. Lit. in Transl. (since 1750)	1S
	Old Norse/Icel. Prose & Poet. (Grad.)	1S
	Strindberg in Transl.	1S
	*Special Study for Grads. & Adv. Undergr.	1S
4. University of Chicago	*Elem. Dan.	1Q
Chicago, Ill.	Interm. Dan.	1Q
Prof. Gösta Franzen, Ph.D.	Adv. Dan.	1Q
Karin Franzen, Fil.Kand.	*Elem. Norw.	1Q
Arne Brekke, M.A.	*Interm. Norw.	1Q
Doris Sörensen, M.A.	*Adv. Norw.	1Q
	*Conversl. Norw.	1Q
	Norw. Comp. & Convers.	1Q
	*Elem. Swed.	1Q
	*Interm. Swed.	1Q
	*Adv. Swed.	1Q
	*Conversl. Swed.	1Q

¹⁰ Last offered 1952-53; to be offered again soon under increased faculty.¹¹ Given in alternate years.

TABLE I—Continued

Name of Institution; Faculty in Scandinavian	Scandinavian Subjects Offered	Duration
	Swed. Comp. & Convers.	1Q
	*Introd. to Old Icel.	1Q
	Readgs. in Dan., Norw. & Swed.	1Q
	Survey of Scand. Lit.	1Q
	*Scand. Life & Cult.	1Q
	*Strindberg & Expressionist Drama	1Q
	*North Germanic Philol.	1Q
	*Late 19th Cent. Scand. Prose	1Q
	*Hist. of Scand. Countries	1Q
	*Old Germanic Lit.: Eddas, Sagas, Skalds	1Q
5. Columbia University	*Elem. Swed.	2S
New York, N. Y.	*Interm. Swed.	2S
Prof. Carl F. Bayerschmidt, Ph.D.	*Swed. Lit.	2S
Prof. John H. Wuorinen, Ph.D.	*Ibsen & Strindberg	1S
Per-Axel Hildeman, Fil. Lic.	Old Icel.	1S
	Hist. of Scand. North ¹²	2S
6. Cornell University	*Edda & Saga (in Engl. Transl.)	1S
Ithaca, N. Y.		
Jóhann S. Hannesson, M.A.		
7. University of Florida	Old Icel. ("Individual Work") ¹²	1S
Gainesville, Fla.		
Prof. Oscar F. Jones, Ph.D.		
8. Georgetown University	*Intensive Introd. Swed.	2S
Washington, D. C.	Introd. Swed.	2S
Brita Swartz, B.A.	Interm. Swed.	2S
	*Adv. Swed.	2S
	*Scand. Civilizn.	2S
9. Harvard University	*Swedish	2S
Cambridge, Mass.	Old Icel. Lang. & Lit.	1S
Per Egil Törnqvist, F.M.	*The Scand. Novel	1S
	*Survey of Scand. Hist. & Cult.	1S

¹² Last given 1949-50; to be revived 1959-60. Period of suspension caused by lecturer's administrative duties.

¹³ To be resumed Spring 1959. Swedish can be taught on demand by Bengt Wenneberg, Ph.D., of the French staff. Prof. Richard Vowles of the English staff regularly produces studies in Scandinavian literature but does not lecture in this field.

TABLE I—Continued

Name of Institution; Faculty in Scandinavian	Scandinavian Subjects Offered	Duration
	*Spec. Probl. for Adv. Stud. (Old Norse Readgs.)	1S
	*Spec. Probl. for Adv. Stud. (Swed. Poetry to 1850)	1S
10. Indiana University Bloomington, Ind. Foster W. Blaisdell, Jr., Ph.D.	Old Icel. *Indiv. Study (Linguistics)	? 1S
11. State University of Iowa Iowa City, Iowa Prof. John C. McGalliard, Ph.D. Prof. William J. Paff, Ph.D.	Old Icel. ¹⁴	2S
12. Johns Hopkins University Baltimore, Md. Prof. Stefán Einarsson, Ph.D.	*Elem. Old Icel. *Adv. Icel. (Indiv. Work)	2S 2S
13. University of Kansas Lawrence, Kansas Prof. Phillip M. Mitchell, Ph.D.	Elem. Dan. *Elem. Norw. Elem. Swed. Mod. Scand. Lit. ¹⁵ *Scand. Civilizn. Ibsen & His Scand. Contemps. Old Norse/Icel. Civilizn. Old Norse/Icel. Readgs. in Old Norse/Icel.	2S 2S 2S 1S 1S 1S 1S 1S 1S
14. Commonwealth of Massachusetts University Extension Cambridge, Mass. Per Egil Törnqvist, F.M.	*Elem. Swed. Adv. Swed. ¹⁶	2S 2S
15. University of Michigan Ann Arbor, Mich.	Elem. Norw. ¹⁷ Readgs. in Mod. Norw. Prose ¹⁷	2S 2S

¹⁴ Given every 3 or 4 years as a special project under the English Department; not listed in the catalogue.

¹⁵ Class scheduled for Spring 1958 cancelled because enrollment was below required minimum.

¹⁶ Class scheduled for 1957-58 cancelled because enrollment was below required minimum of 20.

¹⁷ To be introduced in 1958-59.

TABLE I—Continued

Name of Institution; Faculty in Scandinavian	Scandinavian Subjects Offered	Duration
Prof. Herbert Penzl, Ph.D.	Ibsen, Strindberg & Scand. Contemps.	2S
Eugene Kelson Grotegut, M.A.	*Old Icel.	Sum-57
16. University of Minnesota	Begin. Swed.	3Q
Duluth, Minn.	Adv. Swed. ¹⁸	3Q
Prof. Ivan Nylander, M.A.	*Swed. Readgs. ¹⁹	3Q
17. University of Minnesota	*Begin. Norw.	2Q
Minneapolis, Minn.	*Interm. Norw.	1Q
Prof. Alik Gustafson, Ph.D.	*Adv. Norw.	3Q
Marion John Nelson, M.A.	*Norw. Convers.	1Q
Lilly E. Lorenzen	*Begin. Swed.	2Q
	*Interm. Swed.	1Q
	*Adv. Swed.	3Q
	*Swed. Convers.	1Q
	*Scand. Life Today & Yesterday	2Q
	*Scand. Lit. in 19th Cent.	1Q
	*Scand. Folk Movements	1Q
	*Govt. & Politics in Scand. Countries	1Q
	*Scand. Novel	2Q
	*Ibsen & Begin. of Mod. Drama	1Q
	*Strindberg & Drama in Revolt	1Q
	*Dramat. Interp. Probs. in Strindberg (Seminar)	3Q
	*Contemp. Scand. Theater	1Q
	*Contemp. Scand. Lit.	1Q
	*Readgs. in Scand. Lit.	1Q
	*Scand. Art	1Q
	*Soc. Legisl. & Inst. in Scand. Countries	1Q
	Introd. to Old Norse	3Q
	Kierkegaard & Scand. Philos.	1Q
18. University of Nebraska	Begin. Dan. & Norw.	2S
Lincoln, Neb.	Begin. Swed.	2S
Prof. Paul Schach, Ph.D.	*Mod. Icel.	1S
	*Old Icel.	1S
	Swed. Lit.	2S
19. New York University	Scandinavian ²⁰	2S

¹⁸ Has never materialized.¹⁹ Informal seminar meeting only twice per month.²⁰ Most recently given 1956; repeated at approximately 3-year intervals; graduate level.

TABLE I—Continued

Name of Institution; Faculty in Scandinavian	Scandinavian Subjects Offered	Duration
New York, N. Y. Prof. Robert A. Fowkes, Ph.D. Prof. Seymour L. Flaxman, Ph.D.	Ibsen	Sum-58
20. University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, N. C. Prof. George S. Lane, Ph.D.	*Old Norse (Grad.)	2S
21. University of North Dakota Grand Forks, N. D. Prof. Richard Beck, Ph.D.	*Begin. Norw. *Interm. Norw. *Adv. Norw. *Hist. of Norw. People *Recent Scand. Lit. in Eng. Transl. Mod. Icel. Norw. Lit. ²¹ Ibsen ²¹ Old Icel. (Grad.) ²¹	2S 2S 2S 2S 1S 2S 2S 2S 2S
22. Northwestern University Evanston, Ill. Prof. Franklin D. Scott, Ph.D.	*Hist. of Mod. Scandinavia	1Q
23. University of Oregon Eugene, Ore. Prof. Astrid Mørk Williams, Ph.D.	First Year Norw. Second Year Norw. First Year Swed. *Second Year Swed. *Scand. Lit. in Transl.	3Q 3Q 3Q 3Q 3Q
24. University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia, Pa. Prof. Otto Springer, Ph.D. Niels T. Kjelds, Ph.D.	Elem. & Int. Dan. ²² Adv. Dan: The Drama ²² Adv. Dan: The Novel ²² Elem. & Int. Norw. ²² Adv. Norw: The Drama ²² Adv. Norw: The Novel ²² Elem. & Int. Swed. Adv. Swed: The Drama Adv. Swed: Prose & Poetry Mod. Icel. *Elem. & Int. Old Icel: The Sagas Adv. Old Icel: The Eddas *Runic Inscripts.	2S 1S 1S 2S 1S 1S 2S 1S 1S 1S 2S 2S 1S

²¹ Not taught in past 5 years.²² Given every third year.

TABLE I—Continued

Name of Institution; Faculty in Scandinavian	Scandinavian Subjects Offered	Duration
	*Great Epochs in Scand. Lit.	2S
	Hist. of Scand. Lit. & Civilizn. ²²	1S
	Scand. Romanticism	1S
	Mod. Scand. Novelists	2S
	Scand. Lyrics	1S
	Hist. of Scand. Langs.	2S
25. Stanford University	*Probs. of Human Exist. in Kierke-	
Palo Alto, Calif.	gaard & Ibsen	1Q
Prof. Kurt F. Reinhardt, Ph.D.	Old Norse	1Q
Prof. Gertrude L. Schuelke, Ph.D.		
26. University of Texas	*Norw.	2S
Austin, Texas	*Swed.	2S
Prof. Lee M. Hollander, Ph.D.	*Old Norse	2S
Prof. Adolph B. Swanson, Ph.D.		
27. University of Utah	Directed Readg.	3Q
Salt Lake City, Utah	Directed Readg., Dan.	3Q
Karl-Erik Johansson	Directed Readg., Norw.	3Q
	Directed Readg., Swed.	3Q
28. University of Virginia	*Old Icel.	2S
Charlottesville, Va.		
Prof. Frederic T. Wood, Ph.D.		
29. University of Washington	*Elem. Dan.	3Q
Seattle, Wash.	*Dan. Readgs.	3Q
Prof. Sverre Arestad, Ph.D.	Superv. Readg. in Dan.	3Q
Prof. Walter Johnson, Ph.D.	*Elem. Norw.	3Q
Birgitta Steene, M.A.	*Norw. Readgs.	3Q
Dolores Hall, M.A.	*Superv. Readg. in Norw.	3Q
Pauli Vehvilainen, M.A.	*Conversl. Norw.	3Q
Barbara Morgridge, M.A.	Adv. Conversl. Norw.	3Q
Harry Christensen, B.A.	Norw. Comp.	3Q
Solveig Blikstad, B.A.	Adv. Norw. Comp.	3Q
Ingun Means, M.A.	*Elem. Swed.	3Q
	*Swed. Readgs.	3Q
	*Superv. Readg. in Swed.	3Q
	*Conversl. Swed.	3Q
	*Adv. Conversl. Swed.	3Q

TABLE I—Continued

Name of Institution; Faculty in Scandinavian	Scandinavian Subjects Offered	Duration
	*Swed. Comp.	3Q
	Hist. of Swed. Lang.	1Q
	*Intro. to Norw. Lit.	3Q
	*Mod. Norw. Lit.	3Q
	*Ibsen in Engl. Transl.	1Q
	*Ibsen (Seminar)	1Q
	Hist. of Norw. Lit.	1Q
	*Intro. to Swed. Lit.	3Q
	*Mod. Swed. Lit.	3Q
	Contemp. Swed. Lit.	1Q
	Strindberg in Engl. Transl.	1Q
	*Strindberg (Seminar)	3Q
	*Scand. Novel (Seminar)	1Q
	Scand. Problems (Seminar)	1Q
	Elem. Mod. Icel.	3Q
	Old Icel.	3Q
	*The Scand. Novel (Lagerkvist)	Sum-57
	*Ibsen & His Major Plays	Sum-57
30. University of Wisconsin	*First Year Norw.	2S
Madison, Wis.	*Second Year Norw.	2S
Prof. Einar I. Haugen, Ph.D.	*Norw. for Travelers	1S
Erling Raksten, Cand.Philol.	*Old Norse	2S
Marie Skramstad, B.A.	*Ibsen & His Contemps.	1S
	*Strindberg & Mod. Drama	1S
	Scand. Classics from Vikings to Ibsen	1S
	Scand. Classics from Ibsen to Present	1S
	Soc. Trends in Scandinavia	1S
	*Hist. of Scand. Countries	2S
	*Scand. Life & Civilizn.	1S
	*Internatl. Relations in Scandinavia	1S
	*Hist. of Scand. Langs.	Sum-57
	*Mod. Scand. Drama	Sum-57
	*The Scand. Novel	Sum-57
31. Yale University	*Begin. Swed.	2S
New Haven, Conn.	Mod. Scand. Lit. (in Transl.)	2S
Prof. Konstantin Reichardt, Ph.D.		
Prof. Cecil Wood, Ph.D.		

TABLE I—Continued

Name of Institution; Faculty in Scandinavian	Scandinavian Subjects Offered	Duration
II. COLLEGES		
1. Augsburg College	*Begin. Norw.	2S
Minneapolis, Minn.	*Scand. Hist.	2S
Prof. Iver Olson, S.T.D.		
Prof. Bjarne Landa		
2. Augustana College	*First Year Swed.	2S
Rock Island, Ill.	*Second Year Swed.	2S
Prof. Arthur A. Wald, Ph.D.	*Survey of Swed. Lit.	1S
Prof. Carl J. Engblom, Fil.Lic.	*Dramas of Strindberg	1S
Margareta Hallberg, B.A.	*Evolution of Soc. Dem. (Swed.)	1S
	Extens. Readgs. in Swed. Prose ²³	1S
	Adv. Spoken & Writ. Swed.	1S
	*Begin. Swed.	Sum-57
	*Interm. Swed.	Sum-57
	*Adv. Swed.	Sum-57
	*Swed. Life & Cult.	Sum-57
3. Bethany College	First Year Swed.	2S
Lindsborg, Kansas	Second Year Swed.	2S
Ethel Palmquist, M.A.		
4. Bethany Lutheran College	First Year Norw.	2S
Mankato, Minn.	*Second Year Norw.	2S
Prof. Rudolph E. Honsey, M.A.	Hist. of Norw. Cult.	2S
5. Bethel College	*Elem. Swed.	2S
St. Paul, Minn.	*Readgs. in Scand. Cult.	2S
Ingeborg Sjørdal, M.A.	*Elem. Swed.	Sum-57
	*Readgs. in Scand. Cult.	Sum-57
6. College of the City of New York:	*Elem. Dan.	?
The City College²⁴	*Elem. Norw.	?
New York, N. Y.	*Interm. Norw.	2S
Samuel Abrahamsen, Ph.D.	*Elem. Swed.	2S
Bengt S. Liljeroot, M.A.	*Interm. Swed.	2S
Mrs. Hansa Friis	*Adv. Swed.	2S
Sverre A. Gran	*Scandinavia Today	1S

²³ Will be changed to Modern Swedish Verse in Autumn 1958.²⁴ Scandinavian program in collaboration with the American-Scandinavian Foundation.

TABLE I—Continued

Name of Institution; Faculty in Scandinavian	Scandinavian Subjects Offered	Duration
	Elem. & Adv. Icel. ²⁵	?
	Spoken Norw. ²⁶	2S
7. Concordia College	*Elem. Norw.	2S
Moorhead, Minn.	*Interm. Norw.	2S
Prof. Martha Brennun, B.A.	*Norw. Lit.	2S
8. Dana College	Elem. Dan.	2S
Blair, Nebr.	*Interm. Dan.	2S
Prof. Norman C. Bansen, M.A.	Scand. Lit. ²⁷	2S
Prof. Lloyd Refsell, Th.M.	*Philos. of Kierkegaard	1S
9. Grand View College	*Elem. Dan.	2S
Des Moines, Iowa	Adv. Dan.	2S
Prof. John A. Sirevaag, Ph.D.	Surv. of Dan. Lit.	2S
10. Gustavus Adolphus College	*Begin. Swed.	2S
St. Peter, Minn.	*Interm. Swed.	2S
Prof. Marvin Larson, M.A.	"Vår litteratur"	?
11. Luther College	*Elem. Norw.	2S
Decorah, Iowa	*Interm. Norw.	2S
Thora Skirbeck, M.A.	Practical Norw.	1S
	*Hist. of Norway	1S
	*Henrik Ibsen	1S
	Early Norw. Classics	1S
	Middle Period in Norw. Lit.	1S
	Mod. Norw. Lit.	1S
	Norw. Am. Hist.	1S
	*Elem. Norw.	Sum-57
	*Interm. Norw.	Sum-57
12. North Park College	*Elem. Swed.	2S
Chicago, Ill.	*Begin. Swed. (Eves., no credit)	2S
E. Gustav Johnson, M.A.		
Astrid Hagelfeldt		

²⁵ Did not materialize in 1957-58.²⁶ Given at American-Scandinavian Foundation Headquarters.²⁷ Credit offered in English or Danish; if the latter, readings must be in the original language.

TABLE I—Continued

Name of Institution; Faculty in Scandinavian	Scandinavian Subjects Offered	Duration
13. Oberlin College Oberlin, Ohio Prof. Ellen H. E. Johnson, M.A.	Scand. Art ²⁸	1S
14. Pacific Lutheran College Parkland, Wash. Cornelius K. Malmin, B.A.	*Elem. Norse *Norse Lang. & Lit. Drama & Poetry Hist. of Scand. Lit. Scand. Hist. Scand. Masterpcs. in Engl.	2S 2S 2S 1S 1S 2S
15. Roosevelt University Chicago, Ill. Helen Nelson Englund, M.A.	*Scand. Cult. Studies	1S
16. St. Olaf College Northfield, Minn. Prof. Emeritus J. Jørgen Thompson, D.H.L. Prof. Theodore Jorgensen, Ph.D. Prof. Lloyd Hustvedt, M.A. Prof. Reidar Dittmann, M.A. Prof. Esther Gulbrandson, B.A. Prof. Clarence Clausen, Ph.D. Prof. Ingvald Torvik, Cand.Phil., (visiting for 1 year)	*Elem. Norw. *Interm. Norw. Spec. Interm. Norw. (Tutoring) *Adv. Norw. Old Norse *Scand. Masterpcs. (in Engl.) *Mod. Scand. Lit. (in Engl.) *Survey of Norw. Cult. *Ibsen (in Engl.) *Scand. Hist.	2S 2S — 2S 2S 2S 2S 2S 2S 2S
17. Upsala College East Orange, N.J. Prof. Alfred M. Carlson, M.A. Edgar A. Conradson, B.A.	*Elem. Swed. *Interm. Swed. *Hist. & Cult. of Sweden *Masterpcs. of Swed. Lit. Survey of Swed. Lit. Sweden of Today	2S 2S 1S 1S 2S 2S
18. Ursinus College Collegeville, Pa. Prof. Allan Lake Rice, Ph.D.	*Elem. Swed. Interm. Swed.	2S 2S
19. Waldorf College Forest City, Iowa Dorothy Satterlie, M.A.	*Begin. Norw. *Adv. Norw.	2S 2S

²⁸ Given in alternate years.

TABLE I—Continued

Name of Institution; Faculty in Scandinavian	Scandinavian Subjects Offered	Duration
20. State College of Washington Pullman, Wash. Prof. Arne O. Lindberg, Ph.D.	Begin. Swed. ²⁹	2S

III. HIGH SCHOOLS

Brooklyn, N. Y.		
1. Bay Ridge High School	*Elem. Norw.	2S
Palmer J. Hertsgaard, B.A.	*Adv. Norw.	2S
Mankato, Minn.		
2. Bethany Lutheran College (High School Division)	First Year Norw.	2S
Prof. Rudolph E. Honsey, M.A.	*Second Year Norw.	2S
Minneapolis, Minn.		
3. North High School	*First Year Norse	2S
Lars G. Kindem, B.A.	*Second Year Norse	2S
4. Roosevelt High School	*Begin. Norw.	2S
Benjamin R. Eggan, B.A.	*Adv. Norw.	2S
Wendell P. Benson, M.A.	*Begin. Swed.	2S
	*Adv. Swed.	2S
5. South High School	*First Year Swed.	2S
Ruth W. Peterson, B.A.	*Second Year Swed.	2S
	*Third Year Swed.	2S
Rockford, Ill.		
6. East High School	*Swed. I-II	2S
Margaret E. Swanson, B.A.	*Swed. III-IV	2S

²⁹ Offered in alternate years; due in 1958-59.

TABLE II
A. ENROLLMENTS IN SCANDINAVIAN COURSES
AUTUMN 1957

	Danish	Norwegian	Old Norse, Icel.	Swedish	Total Lang.	Non-Lang.	1957 Grand Totals
Universities	28	217	29	259	533	306	839
Colleges, etc.	27	479	0	289	795	269	1064
High Schools	0	171	0	192	363	0	363
Totals	55	867	29	740	1691	575	2266

B. ENROLLMENT TRENDS, 1939-1957

	1939-40 Totals ³⁰	1946 Totals	1950 Totals	1954 Totals	1957 Totals
Universities	856	932	945	694	839
Colleges, etc.	1304	1320	1317	1169	1064
High Schools	1544	1042	654	459	363
Totals	3704	3294	2916	2322	2266

TABLE III
NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS OFFERING
SCANDINAVIAN 1939-1957

	1939-40 ³⁰	1946	1950	1954	1957
Universities	20	24	30	30	31
Colleges, etc.	23	18	21	29 ³¹	20
High Schools	17	15	13	7	6
Totals	60	57	64	66 ³¹	57

³⁰ All figures for 1939-40 are from Meixner, *op. cit.*

³¹ Including Oberlin College, which did not appear in the last report although it was offering Scandinavian Art at that time.

TABLE IV
INSTITUTIONS THAT HAVE DROPPED OR ADDED
SCANDINAVIAN SINCE 1954

Dropped	Added
<i>Universities</i>	
Brown University	Brigham Young University
Cornell University	University of Florida
<i>Colleges, etc.</i>	
Augustana College, Sioux Falls	Oberlin College ³²
Bryn Mawr College ³³	
Long Beach State College	
Luther Theological Seminary	
North Central College	
Pasadena City College	
Pennsylvania State College ³³	
Reedley College	
Rockford College	
<i>High Schools</i>	
Denfield High, Duluth	

TABLE V
NATIONAL ORIGIN OF FACULTIES IN SCANDINAVIAN

	Native U. S.	Scandi- navian	Others	Totals
Universities	29	28	6	63
Colleges, etc.	20	17	0	37
High Schools	4	2	0	6
Totals	53	47	6	106

³² Offered Scandinavian Art in 1954 but was not included in the report for that year.

³³ No reply received.

AGNAR ÞÓRÐARSON, PLAYWRIGHT AND NOVELIST

PAUL SCHACH

University of Nebraska

THE twofold purpose of this study is to call attention to an author, still relatively unknown outside Iceland, who is generally regarded in his home country as one of the most promising dramatists and novelists among the younger generation of Icelandic writers, and to discuss his novel *Ef sverð þitt er stult* (*If Your Sword Is Short*) in relation to its literary sources and the author's intent in writing it.¹

Agnar Þórðarson's² most recently published short story, "Þjófurinn" ("The Thief"), appeared in the anthology *Árbók skálda, Ljóð og sögur ungra höfundna* (*Writers' Yearbook, Poems and Stories of Young Authors*).³

This story, which is written in a light vein, begins with the theft of a woman's nightgown in broad daylight. Soon the disappearance of other articles is discovered, among them the husband's sleeping bag, "that excellent eiderdown sleeping bag with full-length zipper—and with eiderdown constantly rising in price." The husband's attempt to place the responsibility for the loss on his wife precipitates a domestic crisis which is only partly alleviated by a trip to the movies followed by genuine French cognac at the Hotel Borg. In the middle of a quiz program—a delightful scene with the husband surrounded by encyclopedias and the wife, whose confidence in the printed word is as limited as her acquaintance with it, calling friends on the telephone for information—the old woman from the basement apartment comes panting into the room: a stranger

¹ A grant from the American Philosophical Society made it possible for the author to spend the summer of 1955 in Iceland for the purpose of working on his translation of *Eyrbyggja saga* (recently completed with the collaboration of Lee M. Hollander) and of beginning a study of the influence of the ancient literature of Iceland on modern Icelandic life and literature.

² Agnar Þórðarson was born in Kleppur, Reykjavík, on September 11, 1917, the son of Professor Þórður Sveinsson, a specialist in mental diseases, and of Ellen (*née* Kaaber) Sveinsson of Copenhagen. After graduation from the University of Iceland in 1945, where he studied Icelandic literature under the eminent scholar Sigurður Nordal, Þórðarson spent a year at Oxford (1947–48) and then lived for two years in France and Italy (1948–50). He has traveled widely and frequently in Europe. His wife, Hildigunnur Hjálmaradóttir, is a niece of Gunnar Gunnarsson, one of Iceland's best known novelists. Since 1951 Þórðarson has been on the staff of the National Library in Reykjavík. In addition to short stories, literary essays, and radio plays, he has written three stage plays and two novels.

³ Edited by Kristján Karlsson and published by Helgafell in 1956, this anthology contains twenty original contributions and two translations (of Harry Martinson and Franz Kafka) by young Icelandic authors.

is snooping about downstairs. The husband goes charging out, only to return a few seconds later to put on his warm jacket. A glance in the mirror assures him that his appearance is sufficiently stern and resolute "if he only remembers to knit his brow and bite on his jaw-teeth." The "wrestling fever," a genteel modern form of the berserker's rage, overcomes him. But suppose the burglar is as strong as an elephant and armed? Grasping a large kitchen knife, he steals down the stairs and captures the malefactor, a skinny sallow-faced adolescent. Apprised at the police station of the delinquent's unfortunate home situation, the husband slips him a handful of *krónur*, which the boy pockets with a disdainful smirk. Convinced that this poor lad could not possibly have been the thief, the husband, lost in pseudo-philosophical speculation about man's impotence to protect himself from theft, walks home through the deserted, snow-covered streets. Overhead the northern lights flash and gleam. Before he realizes it, he is at home. To his relief and amazement, his wife warmly welcomes him, a paragon of vacillation, as her shield and protector, the lost hero of her dreams.

The charm of this little story lies neither in the plot, which is quite simple, nor in the theme, which is rather inconsequential, but rather in the use of irony, sometimes sly and subtle, sometimes deliberately obvious, in the creation of situation and the delineation of character. This use of irony is characteristic also of Þórðarson's satirical comedies.

To date four of Þórðarson's radio plays have been produced by the Icelandic National Radio: *Förin til Braziltu* (*Trip to Brazil*) in 1953, *Sprethlauparinn* (*The Sprinter*) and *Andri*, a satire on typical Icelandic superstitions, in 1954, and *Tónsnillingurinn* (*The Musical Wizard*) in 1957. All of these radio plays have enjoyed tremendous popularity. Þórðarson's latest contribution to the genre of the satirical comedy is a radio serial which began on January 15, 1958. To anyone who is acquainted with the economic plight of Iceland, the timeliness of this work is evident from its tentative title *Á meðan dýrtíðin eykst* (*While the Cost of Living Increases*). None of these radio plays has been published.

Like all students of Northern antiquities, Agnar Þórðarson has been fascinated by the mysterious fate of the two Icelandic settlements in Greenland, the westernmost outposts of Scandinavian civilization in the Middle Ages. These settlements, which came into being within a few decades after Eiríkur rauði established his farm at Brattahlíð around 986, grew and flourished for several centuries. In 1126 the Greenland bishopric was established at Garðir. Their decline seems to have begun with the loss of Icelandic independence in the 1260's. Vestribyggð, the more northerly of the two settlements, ceased to exist in the second half of the fourteenth century; Eystribyggð

disappeared into darkness shortly after 1500. It is with the extinction of this settlement that Þórðarson's first stage play, the four-act drama *Þeir koma í haust* (*They Will Come in the Fall*) is concerned. The basic theme of the play, the struggle between the Norsemen and the Eskimos, may perhaps be interpreted symbolically as the conflict of Western culture against barbarism. Produced by the National Theater in January, 1955, *Þeir koma í haust* was only moderately successful. This lack of success may have been due in part to faulty dramatic technique. Possibly an epic-narrative treatment would have been more appropriate to the subject.

Þórðarson's second stage play *Kjarnorka og Kvenhylli*, however, was a smash hit, running for two seasons (1955-56 and 1956-57) at the Iðno theater. It recently appeared as Number 13 in the series *Leikritasafn Menningarsjóðs*. Literally translated, the title of this comedy is *Nuclear Power and Woman's Favor*. The author himself tentatively suggested *Atomic Power and Sex Appeal*; Einar Haugen appropriately and perhaps semi-facetiously called it *Atoms and Madams*.⁴

Under the name of Dr. Alfreðs, a petty criminal from Reykjavík poses as an atomic scientist who is expected to visit Iceland on behalf of an international uranium organization. He convinces Þorleifur Ólafsson, frustrated singer and author, amateur painter, general dilettante and member of the Althingi, that he has discovered uranium on the farm of Sigmundur Jónsson, one of Þorleifur's constituents. The *alþingismaður* tries to swindle the farmer out of his land. Instead, however, he and his influential friends are completely taken in by the impostor, who absconds with a large sum of their money after having made love to Þorleifur's wife Karitas and their daughter Sigrún. At the very end of the play "Dr. Alfreðs" sends a telegram from Mexico City requesting Þorleifur to forward to him his samples of uranium, which he had stolen in Canada.

Haugen aptly characterized the play when he wrote that "while it is on the order of our Broadway comedies, it has an element of social criticism which raises it above most of these."⁵

From my correspondence with Þórðarson I gather that he was interested initially in showing in this play how the good old Icelandic virtues, embodied in the farmer Sigmundur, have become almost ridiculous in modern times. Apparently, however, the emphasis shifted as the play took shape and as the characters assumed more and more independence. It is not the country bumpkin, but the social climber and the unscrupulous opportunistic politician, the representatives of

⁴ Cf. "Thalia in Reykjavík," *ASR*, XLIV (1956), p. 339.

⁵ *Ibid.*

the new urban "culture," who are lampooned. Sigmundur is, to be sure, a humorous character. Some of his words and actions and most of the scenes in which he appears are hilariously funny. But in the end it is to him and not to her parents that Sigrún, seduced by the absconded swindler, turns for help.

A third stage play, *Gauksklukkan* (*The Cuckoo Clock*), will probably have been presented in the National Theater by the time this study appears. I have not seen the manuscript of the play, nor have I had the opportunity to bombard the author with questions about it. The title suggests that it may be another social satire similar in spirit and manner to *Kjarnorka* og *Kvenhylli*.

The action of Þórðarson's first novel, *Haninn galar tvisvar* (*The Cock Crows Twice*), which was published by Helgafell in 1949, takes place in Reykjavík during the time of the Spanish Civil War.

The main character, an extremely sensitive young man, has been tormented since early childhood by horrible nightmares from which he "leaps into wakefulness" only to see before him the torn and bloody body of a cat which he had helped stonewall to death as a child. Obsessed with the necessity of gaining his independence and maintaining the integrity of his personality, Ingjaldur breaks with his family. For a time he comes under the influence of his friend Kjartan, for whom knowledge of life is tantamount to experience with women. His sympathy for the suffering of the poor and the volubility of his former classmate Eiður mislead him into the delusion that he can best meet his obligation to society by becoming a Communist. But his abhorrence of violence, his fear of losing his individuality and freedom by surrendering to a totalitarian creed, and his disgust at the crudity and pettiness of the Communists cause him to break with them. After a hectic summer, during which he "betrays" some of his friends, he becomes reconciled with his mother and brother and marries Katla Þórólfsdóttir, a wealthy, cultured, poised young woman with whom he hopes to begin "a new life."

In spite of the protagonist's predilection for vague philosophizing and the several unresolved dissonances of this novel, *Haninn galar tvisvar* must be regarded as an honest attempt to come to grips with some of the basic problems of modern life. Quite as timely as Laxness' bizarre anti-Western *Atómstöðin* (*Atom Station*), it fully deserves the cautious praise accorded it in Iceland of being a *góð frumsmíð*, 'a good first-work.'

Broader in scope and more mature and precise in concept and execution is Þórðarson's second novel *Ef sverð þitt er stutt* (*If Your Sword Is Short*), which was published by Mál og Menning in 1953. This story likewise takes place in the national capital shortly after World War II, a period of economic disruption and social turmoil in

Iceland. Since this book has not yet been translated, it will be necessary to give a brief sketch of the plot.

The protagonist of the story, Hilmar Jóhannsson, discovers that his father, a mild-mannered, respected citizen of Reykjavík, was entangled in some dishonest financial transactions through the machinations of Markús Ólafsson, a ruthless entrepreneur who maintains a stranglehold on the economic life of Iceland through his control of essential imports, especially cement and oil, and through a lucrative contract with the American armed forces. Tortured by a sense of guilt for not having supported his father in his lone stand against Markús, Hilmar resolves that he shall not have *fallið ógildur*, i.e., been killed with impunity. He must somehow take vengeance on Markús without betraying the secret that his father committed suicide because of shame and frustration. This is all the more difficult because Markús, whom Hilmar simultaneously hates and admires, has long been the benefactor of the family and a very close friend of his mother.

Failing in an attempt to accuse Markús to his face of being the murderer of his father, Hilmar turns to his friend and employee Alexander in the hope that he will help him expose Markús to the American armed forces. Alexander refuses, pointing out that Hilmar's father, however unwillingly, also signed the contract with the armed forces. Hilmar then demands of another friend, the unnamed Editor, that he unmask Markús in his newspaper. But the Editor, a completely disillusioned and infinitely tolerant man, explains that Markús is so powerful and invulnerable that even the Communists no longer dare to attack him. Any attempt to "tear the sheep's clothing" from him in the press would certainly bring ridicule to his accusers and possibly disgrace to the memory of Hilmar's father. The Editor admonishes Hilmar to sheathe his sword and to be mindful of the fact that all Icelanders can call each other "kinsman and brother."

A visit to Markús' home almost turns out disastrously. In the absence of her husband, who is staying in Keflavík over night, Lilja, with the aid of flattery, poetry, and sherry, is able to turn Hilmar's desire for revenge momentarily into other channels. The first thing that Hilmar sees upon awaking is a huge photograph of Markús leering at him. Convinced that his seduction was planned by his enemy, Hilmar borrows an automobile belonging to his friend Rikki and races madly down the highway toward Keflavík. Narrowly missing a man on a bicycle, he crashes into a horse. After a night in jail, he is released with a warning and the temporary suspension of his driver's license. But although he is again free, Hilmar feels the need to make some sacrifice in expiation of his "guilt." In his drunken rage the night before he would gladly have killed Markús; and he had actually come within inches of killing an innocent man.

The second half of the novel is appropriately prefaced by the admonition of the ghost in *Hamlet* (III, 4):

Do not forget: this visitation
Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose.

As the heir of Jóhann Bjarnarson and now the business associate of Markús Ólafsson, Hilmar is in a position to spend the rest of his life in ease and luxury. But Hilmar's almost morbid feeling of guilt and his complete frustration in regard to Markús drive him to the point of despair. He desires "war, world war, atomic war . . . the destruction of everything, conflagration, scorching fire—*ragnarök*." At the same time he

longs for peace, "a little house in a dale by a clear, chattering brook," a dream which he cannot even share with his mistress Vera for fear of being considered "romantic and maudlin." This oppressive sense of culpability and dereliction is intensified through the insistence of Vera on bearing their child despite the grave warning of her physician. Hilmar goes to the moving pictures in hope of finding temporary diversion and release; but while watching the newsreel he identifies himself with both the victims and the perpetrators of a bombing attack. Rushing from the theater to the dock, he is horrified to see the automobile with which he almost killed an innocent man being raised from the harbor, the drowned body of his friend Rikki at the wheel—Rikki, whose only God was the Machine.

Rumors of dissatisfaction among the laboring people revive Hilmar's hopes. He tries to enlist the aid of Snorri, a belligerent and defiant Communist, in a plan to precipitate a crippling strike among Markús' workers. But in spite of Snorri's extravagant talk about preserving Icelandic independence and the Icelandic cultural heritage, it soon becomes evident that he is interested primarily in strengthening the Communist party. After pretending for a while to sympathize with Hilmar, Snorri suddenly turns on him, jeering at him as the son of the wealthy Jóhann Bjarnarson and the spy and associate of Markús. Although keenly disappointed by this humiliating experience, Hilmar is not disheartened. Indeed, he now comes to regard his desire to topple Markús not merely as an act of filial piety but as a patriotic duty. To free his people from the grip of Markús, he must act decisively and ruthlessly, like the heroes of the Icelandic sagas.

One morning after weeks of dismal, rainy weather Hilmar awakes to find the sky ablaze with sunlight. Seeing this "sign and portent in the heavens," his decision is made: he will blow up the huge oil stores of Markús. This decision is not even altered by the sudden realization that Markús Ólafsson and not Jóhann Bjarnarson is really his father. Before attempting to carry out his plan, however, he accompanies his mother to a gala party celebrating the return of Markús from a business trip to Japan. On his way home he is intercepted by his despised brother-in-law Bertel, who almost succeeds in converting Hilmar from his "belief in his own might" to Bertel's brand of sentimental-emotional religion. Just as Hilmar is on the point of falling to his knees, a huge tomcat springs up from the sofa. "That is Markús, the tempter," he screams. In a fit of madness, he hurls the cat into Bertel's face and races home. Armed with three time bombs made from stolen dynamite, Hilmar drives to the oil depot. But before he can carry out his plan, he is apprehended by a group of men who curse and beat him. To his utter amazement and chagrin, Hilmar discovers that these men are not policemen and henchmen of Markús but workers, the very people whom he hoped to save from their enemy and his. His last thought before the world grows dark before his eyes is: "They are abusing not me, but themselves."

The obvious earnestness of purpose, the somberness of tone, the lucidity and simplicity of style, the dream-like, even nightmarish effects of various passages, the increasing loneliness and progressive frustration of the protagonist—all these characteristics are reminiscent on the one hand of the allegories of Kafka and on the other hand of Pär Lagerkvist's great symbolic novel *Barabbas*. This sub-

jective impression was verified by Þórðarson himself in a number of conversations and letters. His purpose in writing *Ef sverð þitt er stult* was, I believe, to portray the vain struggle of the modern individual to obtain justice in a demoralized, indifferent world. Þórðarson feels that he was strongly influenced by Lagerkvist's *Barabbas*. Upon completion of his novel, he realized to his surprise that his basic plot was a variation of the Hamlet theme; in recognition of his indebtedness to Shakespeare, he prefaced both sections of his work with appropriate quotations from *Hamlet*. Þórðarson further indicated that he was influenced in style and technique by Graham Greene and Albert Camus, especially by the novels *The End of the Affair* and *L'Etranger*. The influence of Kafka is thus indirect, coming through Camus, a thorough student of the German writer.

The points of similarity between *The End of the Affair* and *Ef sverð þitt er stult* are not striking. Both authors make effective use of a flashback technique to communicate to the reader in a vivid manner past events which have a bearing on the present. Greene, for example, has Bendrix, the central figure of his novel, read the stolen diary of his mistress, which supplies pertinent information and illuminates her behavior from a point of view that would otherwise have been impossible in a novel written in the first person. Hilmar possesses such a vivid imagination that the actual and fancied experiences which he relives in retrospect sometimes seem more real to him than his immediate surroundings. This is especially true of the childhood adventures and the unhappy affair of his mother with Viggó Backmann, which, partly recalled from her own statements, are supplemented and vivified by Hilmar. The character of Vera has much in common with Sarah, the wife of Henry Miles and the mistress of Maurice Bendrix. Both women have strong sensual desire, have had affairs with many men, and torment their paramours by their frankness about these affairs. Sarah frequently calls herself a "bitch and a fake," while Vera assures Hilmar that she is frivolous and would surely go completely to the dogs without the supervision of her elderly cousin. Sarah's heroic struggle to keep her vow to renounce physical love, without which life for her is filled with torment and devoid of meaning, is in a way comparable to Vera's determination to bear her child despite the danger to her body, which has been weakened by tuberculosis, because she feels an overwhelming need to sacrifice herself, to "give a gift that is greater than the giver."

The parallels between *L'Etranger* and *Ef sverð þitt er stult*, while quite obvious, are also of a superficial nature. The novel of Camus begins with the death of Monsieur Meursault's mother, just as Þórðarson's novel opens with the death of Hilmar's father. The funeral scene in the Icelandic story reminds one somewhat of those in *The End of the Affair* and *L'Etranger*, while the court scene in *Ef sverð þitt er stult* seems to have been influenced by the one in the French novel (which, in turn, obviously was inspired by Kafka's *Der Prozess*). There is a certain resemblance, too, between the unsuccessful attempts of the chaplain in *L'Etranger* to show kindness and to bring comfort to the outsider Meursault, and the awkward, almost maudlin efforts of Bertel to help Hilmar gain peace of mind through the acceptance of Christianity. In regard to technique, the most interesting point of similarity is the way in which both writers, at crucial moments in their stories, permit familiar street sounds to penetrate into the consciousness of the protagonists and to give direction to their thoughts and actions.

Far more significant than these points of similarity are the ways in which *Ef sverð þitt er stult* differs from these two novels. *The End of the Affair* is a facilely written, cleverly constructed variation of the author's somewhat worn formula of eroticism and Catholicism. The central figure of the story is a blasé professional writer who callously exploits his relationships with people in order to get material for his yearly novels. (Schnitzler, incidentally, treated this theme with much more wit, charm, and imagination.) Bendrix seems to have only one desire: to escape from the insecurity and inanity of his existence through the exclusive and lasting possession of Sarah's body. Thwarted in this, he is consumed by hatred for Sarah's husband, with whom he has had to share her, for Sarah's God, to whom he has lost her, and for Sarah herself, who "deserted" him for God. Bendrix is too shallow, too self-centered to hold the sympathetic interest of the reader. That Graham Greene is well known in Iceland is shown by Sigurður A. Magnússon's penetrating analysis of Greene's novel *The Quiet American* (translated into Icelandic by Eiríkur Hreinn Finnbo-gason and published in 1957 by the Almenna bókafélagið) in the *Morgunblaðið* (September 28, 1957, pp. 8-9). According to Finnbo-gason, Greene's novels all deal with "black and gray souls . . . , with hatred, anxiety and deception." Certainly this is true of *The End of the Affair*. Although scarcely less pessimistic than Greene, Þórðarson's

outlook on life is not morbid. The heroic ethos of the saga people, which has not completely disappeared from Icelandic fiction, was not, after all, characterized by exuberant optimism. Unlike Greene (and unlike Laxness in his *Atómstöðin*), Þórðarson also has a positive attitude toward his characters which is communicated to the reader.

Camus' *L'Etranger* has been the object of much scholarly and critical comment.⁶ The plot, structure, style, purpose, symbolism, and characters of this novel have been so thoroughly dissected that it is almost impossible to write anything about them without repeating or contradicting something that has already been said. *L'Etranger* has been described as an allegory of modern man in the manner of Kafka (which, while essentially correct, does not do justice to the art of Camus) or as Hemingway with substance (which grossly exaggerates Hemingway's influence on Camus' style). It is obvious that Camus intended to write a novel of the absurd, a concept which is central in his thinking, through an inverted, ironic reconstruction of the Sisyphus myth. The central figure, Monsieur Meursault, is a faceless, colorless creature, an insignificant clerk in Algiers, who mechanically goes through the motions of living. Apathetic and indifferent, he feebly defends himself against the unjust accusation of murder, revolts momentarily against the death sentence, then resigns himself to his fate. The tremendous impact which this novel had can be explained by the fact that countless victims of World War II, especially in France, could identify themselves with its unheroic hero.

Like Monsieur Meursault and his prototype Josef K. in Kafka's *Der Prozess*, Lagerkvist's enigmatic Barabbas interests us primarily as an allegorical figure, as the embodiment of modern man in his restless search for the warmth of human love and friendship and above all in his unending quest for an adequate and satisfying faith. By contrast, Hilmar, whatever symbolic significance he may have, is of interest to us primarily as an individual, as a human being struggling alone to resolve conflicts and to fulfil obligations that surpass his strength. He is a much more complex character than Monsieur Meur-

⁶ Three of the most recent articles on Camus, both of which contain copious bibliographical references, are J. Cruikshank, "Camus' Technique in *L'Etranger*," *French Studies*, X (1956), 241-254; Philip Thody, "A Note on Camus and the American Novel," *Comparative Literature*, IX (1957), 243-249; and Reino Virtanen's "French Reaction to American Writers," *Prairie Schooner*, XXX (1956), 76-85.

sault. As a child Hilmar regarded Markús Ólafsson as the greatest of men. He was proud of his resemblance to him and even tried to brush his hair as Markús did. Yet because of his concept of honor and his sense of responsibility he feels obligated to "fell" this man whom he has always admired. Hilmar realizes that his father was merely a pawn in the hands of Markús; but unlike his mother, a sensuous, luxury-loving woman, Hilmar has also been able to appreciate the good qualities of gentle, circumspect Jóhann Bjarnarson. In spite of his father's weaknesses, Hilmar remains loyal to him and to his memory. Hilmar's relationship to his mother is quite as ambivalent as his attitude toward Markús. In fits of drunken rage he rebukes her for never having stood by his father and for having been the mistress of Viggó Backmann and of Markús. At other times, when he is completely calm and sober, he treats her with gentle consideration. His desire to protect her from Markús strengthens his determination to ruin his enemy. Hilmar's relationship to Vera lacks the quality of exclusiveness necessary to make it completely satisfactory for him. He is offended because Vera never questions him about his actions, because she encourages him to be intimate with other women, and because she agrees to marry him since, after all, it is so easy to get a divorce. When Hilmar finally realizes that Markús is his father, he feels as though he has committed incest by sleeping with Lilja—thus adding one more strand to his guilt complex.

Hilmar differs fundamentally from the protagonists of the other three novels also in his attachment to his family and his love for his country. Barabbas, conceived and born in hatred, unwittingly killed his own father in a struggle for the leadership of the robber gang. Meursault and Bendrix seem devoid of any normal feeling of affection for their parents and unconcerned about the fate of their countries. Hilmar's individual existence, however, is so inextricably interwoven with that of his family and so deeply rooted in the traditions of his native land that he cannot become an "outsider" in the sense of Meursault or Barabbas despite the desperate loneliness in which he must struggle to avenge his father. Hilmar's maternal grandfather was *samgróinn þessu landi* 'grown together with this land'; his paternal grandmother cherished a brooch, an heirloom which had been in the family for centuries. When Vera says that she is content "to exist, to breathe, to see, to hear—to sense. . .," Hilmar replies that living with

honor is not a matter of individual existence, but of "everything that our forefathers have lived and died for. . . ."

Although sharply delineated, the other characters in Þórðarson's novel tend to be types or symbols. This is especially and appropriately true of the antagonist Markús, who creates the impression of massiveness, ruthlessness, invincibility. During a piano recital, the wife of one of Markús' engineers remarks to Hilmar: "Markús' fingers do not play on a piano—his keyboard is all of Iceland—the entire country, that is why they are so large." Markús is not only the personal adversary of Hilmar; he is also the personification of the impersonal, intangible forces against which the sensitive, imaginative, conscientious young man must take up the futile fight for justice. The Editor, who remains anonymous, is the cynical representative of atheistic enlightenment. He wants to make Hilmar independent and realistic, to free him from all delusions: "A man is not mature until he has ceased to believe, until he has hurled all his gods from their pedestal—and especially the one which is dearest to him and stands closest to his heart." Alexander is a Kafkaesque figure. Always immaculately dressed, he wears thick, tinted glasses. When Hilmar tries to look into his eyes, he sees merely a reflection of himself in these glasses. When he wishes to talk to Alexander about Markús, Alexander remains silent. It seems to Hilmar as though he were "standing on the shore of a calm lake and trying to call to a man on the opposite shore," but his "words died over the dark surface." The old *spákona*, who tells Hilmar's fortune and assures him that he will attain the "inmost desires" of his heart, represents superstition and thus the dark irrational forces in human life.

Among the interesting stylistic features of the novel *Ef sverð þitt er stult* which must be mentioned is the author's treatment of conventional literary themes. The modern myth of man's imprisonment, for example, is alluded to in various ways. As Hilmar's father lies dying, Hilmar thinks he hears him say, "Break the window, break the window. . . ." He listens, trembling, to try to discern more clearly what his father is trying to say; but suddenly his father's eyes open and stare into space "as though the stone walls had collapsed and they could see out into that vast expanse where silence is the eternal funeral dirge." The statement of the *spákona* that a man's seat of honor (*hásæti*) is his prison, the student's learned pronouncements on claustrophobia at Markús' party, and Hilmar's desire to remain in jail after killing the

horse are further examples. The incest motif, which is touched upon in Hilmar's affair with Lilja, is also strongly hinted at in Hilmar's daydreams about his mother's beauty as a young woman. The manner in which the solace of Christianity is proffered and rejected is also novel. The father-dominance theme, too, appears in a unique variation: Hilmar is obsessed with the necessity of avenging the death of his legal father against his natural father, whom he simultaneously hates and admires.

Another aspect of style which distinguishes Þórðarson's novel from the other works considered here derives in large part from the genius of the Icelandic language, through the medium of which the rich cultural heritage of the past has exerted a vital force upon Icelandic life and literature to the present day. Allusions to the Eddic poems and to characters and situations in the Family Sagas are effective and appropriate because a thorough knowledge of the old literature is the common property of all Icelanders. Hilmar's old grandmother, who sat "bent forward and bowed like a *norn*," spoke often of her fear of a "new *fimbulvetur*." Snorri, the loquacious, bellicose Communist, asserts that "all Icelanders are poets, the Edda is born in our blood." He himself has composed a poem "inspired by the *Revelation of Saint John* and the *Völuspá*." When Hilmar goes to call on Markús, Lilja tells him to come in and not "stand there like an *álfur* out of its hill." At one point in the story he wonders whether Lilja will laugh with *halgerðarhlátur* when she learns of the death of her husband. The *Fenrisúlfr*, *ragnarök*, the *Surtarlogi* and the *gullnar töflur* are among the many native mythological figures and concepts which Þórðarson makes use of at appropriate places in his story. After Hilmar's humiliation at the hands of Snorri, he imagines that he sees the *haugaeldar*, the "cairn fires" burning and that he hears his father calling "My son, my son. . . ." His father appears to him in a dream and points to a small paper-knife (introduced early in the novel), which now becomes a keen-edged weapon, and admonishes him with the well-known words from classical antiquity: "If your sword is short, move a step forward."

In view of the pervasive influence of the Icelandic tradition on the style of this novel, the question arises whether Þórðarson, despite his broad knowledge of world literature, is not perhaps less indebted to foreign models than to the great literary monuments of his own country. Hilmar Jóhannsson does, to be sure, have many points of

similarity with Hamlet. His basic conflict, however, which arises from the clash of inexorable, irrecusable duties, is one that is common, indeed basic, to pre-Christian Germanic poetry. His dilemma is essentially that of Bjarni Brodd-Helgason in the *Vápnfirðinga saga*, who must slay his best friend and kinsman, Geitir, to avenge the death of his father. Hilmar's final desperate attempt to resolve this conflict, after all other efforts have failed, is also in accordance with the ethos of the sagas. Since nothing remains after death but one's *orðstír*, the "good repute" one has earned in life, Hilmar is convinced that he must not even "shirk from doing evil deeds . . . as all the examples from the *Íslendinga sögur* prove . . ." where the honor and reputation of a kinsman is at stake. Monsieur Meursault is the representative of a jaded, defeated generation, a generation devoid of spiritual resources, without hope, without even the will to live. *Tout le monde sait que la vie ne vaut pas la peine d'être vécue*. Laying his heart open to the "benign indifference of the universe," Meursault desires only that on the day of his execution crowds of people should greet him with "howls of execration." Hilmar Jóhannsson also belongs to the post-war generation. With his concept of honor and his feeling of responsibility to his family and country, however, he is in every respect the opposite of Monsieur Meursault. Like Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen, he is an anachronism. Camus has his "hero" embody the emptiness and hopelessness of his generation; Þórðarson lets his protagonist rebel against the cynical injustice of his day. Which method is the more effective is perhaps a matter of taste. It is interesting to note, however, that this essential difference of approach of the humanist Camus and the humanist Þórðarson has a striking parallel in the fundamental difference between continental and Scandinavian naturalism.⁷

With his radio plays and especially with his *Kjarnorka og Kvenhylli* Agnar Þórðarson has convincingly demonstrated his mastery of the comedy with a strong element of social criticism. In *Ef sverð þitt er stutt* he has created a significant novel about one of the basic problems of modern times in a style which is appropriate to the theme and setting. It is regrettable that this excellent novel has not been made accessible to a wider circle of readers.

⁷ Cf. *SS*, XXV (1953), 134-146.

HENRIK PONTOPPIDAN, THE CHURCH AND CHRISTIANITY AFTER 1900

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ANY study of Henrik Pontoppidan's attitude towards the Church and Christianity in general after 1900 must be centered on the third of his great novels, *De Dødes Rige*, and although it is not the only work to which reference is to be made in the following it is obviously going to dominate the scene. For a short review of this subject the period to be studied is peculiarly apt, for it would seem that Pontoppidan's feelings on the subject of Christianity crystalise in the second half of *Lykke Per* and *De Dødes Rige*, and the absence of any treatment in *Mands Himmerig* of a subject which has been an essential part of the rest of the author's production might well indicate that Pontoppidan had said his last word on the subject in 1917.

A more reconciled attitude towards certain forms of religion has been noticeable in *Lykke Per* where the peculiar figure of Pastor Fjaltring comes as something of a surprise in that he apparently has the author's entire sympathy. If we compare him with the very few priests in the earlier work for whom Pontoppidan evinces some liking, there is a significant change, for the author is here stating something positive with regard to religion; he is not merely criticizing the Church, but saying what it ought to say and do to fulfil its task. It should, says Fjaltring, make demands on people instead of trying to make it easier to be a Christian, for faith is a passion, and where it is not then God is being ridiculed. Despite all Pontoppidan's ambiguities this can probably be taken as being his own opinion, for only as such does it agree with the general tendency of the book, with its inclination towards asceticism, and with the broad trend in Pontoppidan's thought as revealed again some ten years later in *De Dødes Rige*. And only as such can it be seen in its proper perspective in the novel itself, being violently contrasted with the carefree and complacent outlook of Per's Grundtvigian father-in-law: "Når Per bagefter sad i Bøstrup præstegård og hørte på sin rødmussede svigerfar, følte han i endnu højere grad end tidligere, hvor ringe værd en sådan billig købt frejdighed havde i sammenligning med en tro, ja selv med en

tvivl, der havde kostet kamp og blod."¹ Fjaltring is a man who has suffered for his faith, and therefore one such as Pontoppidan can respect. It is not an orthodox faith, containing, indeed, more than a sprinkling of free thinking, but it is one which has come as a result of a profound personal struggle; and it is scarcely an accident that Fjaltring remarks elsewhere that a burning faith can and often does come as a result of doubt. Meanwhile Pontoppidan goes out of his way in this work to say that he does not doubt the sincerity of the other's belief, however worthless he considers it to be. Here again we have an advance on the earlier works where he more often than not leaves the sincerity of the various denominations in doubt. Now, then, he is no longer attacking blindly, but analyzing and trying to penetrate beneath the superficiality he sees around him and to arrive at something like an estimation of the relative values of the various shades of opinion. This more sober attitude is reflected even in the lesser works from this period, for instance in *Det Store Spøgelse* from 1907 in which the local pastor is viewed in a relatively sympathetic light and not merely given the blame for the tragedy.

It is, however, in *De Dødes Rige* that Pontoppidan most thoroughly discusses the problem of the Church and Christianity, and it is in the figure of Mads Vestrup, who has achieved his faith not exactly through religious doubt, but through a period of doubt as to his own worth and a feeling of being an outcast, that he makes his most positive contribution. Mads Vestrup achieves a faith such as that indicated by Fjaltring through a religious experience of great depth and force; he is not the only one of Pontoppidan's priests who has had a religious experience of some sort—so have Emanuel Hansted and Johannes Gaardbo—but Mads Vestrup's form of Christianity might well be Pontoppidan's answer to the question he asked in *Dommens Dag* and which is also emphasized by Knut Ahnlund in his dissertation on Pontoppidan: "De havde sagt til hinanden, at når der ingen Djævel var længer, og ingen evig straf, og altså heller ingen evig løn, når endog præsterne ikke mere turde udtale sig om livet efter døden; når troen ikke var en forvisning om det, vi ikke kunne se, hvad var så det hele? Hvori bestod da kristendom?"² Pontoppidan has played

¹ *Lykke Per*, II, 246 (Ninth edition, Copenhagen, 1949).

² *Det forjættede Land*, 382 (Eighth edition, Copenhagen, 1947).

with that question for a long time, and Pastor Fjaltring is his first real attempt at answering it. Mads Vestrup is the second, the more profound and the more convincing. It would, of course, be futile to pretend that Pontoppidan was a Christian when he wrote *De Dødes Rige*, but he is here tackling the question of what sort of Christianity he could respect; and it is a form which is in agreement with the generally ascetic view of life which he developed towards the end of the 1880's and illustrated in different ways in Vestrup, Torben Dihmer and Poul Gaardbo in this novel. Nor can there be any doubt that Mads Vestrup's form of religion is the only one Pontoppidan could ever completely have respected. He is a fanatic, but unlike other fanatics portrayed by Pontoppidan, he has both feet firmly planted on the ground, knowing people for what they are instead of being carried away by romantic ideas of Man's innate goodness or by the new-fangled ideas of liberal theology which Pontoppidan appears to have abhorred above all. There is in Mads Vestrup's message considerable emphasis on sin, punishment and reward, far more than elsewhere in Pontoppidan's work, and he even deals with the problem of original sin—at the risk of being called a hell-fire preacher. Sin, he states, is not abolished by modern liberal theology; it is merely covered over and thereby made more dangerous—and here he is very close to Fjaltring's assertion that material well-being is largely responsible for sin. But the final mention of Vestrup's not wanting to be called a hell-fire preacher is also significant in that it shows Pontoppidan's insistence on dissociating himself from the more extreme preachers of Indre Mission.

Already in his earlier works he has made it obvious that he has little time for Indre Mission and does not wish to be associated with it in his attack on the liberal theology which at that time was being fostered by the Danish State Church. In fact, of course, although he has many points in common with it, Mads Vestrup is not to be thought of as a member of Indre Mission; his religion is a personal one, individual and virile. He is able to rise above the normal judgment of the world, even at the beginning of the book, when he refuses to be impressed by the fame of Professor Hagen. In his own life he is sparing, and although he looks a glutton, he lives frugally—again a direct contrast to most representatives of the State Church who live well

and see him merely as "en noget indskrænket og forstyrret person, der ikke var til pryd for standen."² He is not interested in people's welfare, and when Torben Dihmer offers to open a home for old people, he scornfully refuses it as not being Christian, even going to the length of asserting that whoever did such a thing on the basis suggested by Dihmer would be "Antikristens åbenbare æressvend her i menighed-en." Perhaps the official Church is interested in welfare, but Vestrup is less interested in material well-being than moral well-being, as is obvious from his reaction after saving Susse Frederiksen from drowning: he thanks God for letting him save a soul.

So much for the positive element in Pontoppidan's portrayal of the Church in *De Dødes Rige*. Parallel to this there is the critical element which is well known from his earlier works, the main difference now being that he has perhaps weighed his words a little more and motivated his criticism more thoroughly. We recognize him for instance in the description of one of the official Church's representatives, Provst Broberg, as "denne løvemankede abekat, denne æressyge Judas, der havde forrådt sin Frelser for popularitetens blodpenge og pyntet Kristi strenge lære op med flitter og stads i tidens letfærdige ånd."³ And yet even here perhaps a more friendly attitude towards Christianity as distinct from the Church is discernible in the terms in which the criticism is phrased. Provst Broberg—and therefore the Danish Church in general—is in Pontoppidan's eyes much more interested in winning popular support, and thereby political power, by making much of material well-being and by organizing popular gatherings and processions: that is to say, by giving people what they want; but in his dealings with Mads Vestrup he shows its fundamental hypocrisy. The Church which preaches forgiveness of sins and repentance is not prepared to stand by its doctrine when Vestrup is dismissed for immorality but humbly and sincerely asks for forgiveness. Instead the worldly, snobbish priests ostracize him completely, for he is not a credit to his class. And here Mads Vestrup's judgment of them is the author's own: "Han sagde, at han vidste, at hans synd, så grim den også var, dog i Vorherres øjne var ringe i sammenligning med den skamløshed, hvormed alle Guds tjenere forrådt hans kirke og forfalskede evangeliet. Han erklærede, at Vorherre hellere så drukken-

² *De Dødes Rige*, 20 (Fifth edition, Copenhagen, 1948).

³ *Ibid.*, 31.

bolte, skørlevnere, ja røvere og mordere stå på landets prækestole end disse fjantede og æressyge præster, der boledede med verden og kildrede de ugudeliges øren med løsagtig snak om de højeste ting."⁵ The portrayal of the State Church throughout the remainder of the work can in fact be considered as exemplifying this statement, and Pontoppidan shows with considerable revulsion how the Church goes on to increase its hold on the people. It has little interest in the demands of Christianity, because it is not to its advantage to emphasize them. It is, again in the words of Vestrup, "løgnens kirke." And although the bishop is portrayed in a more or less sympathetic light on the one occasion on which we see him, he is completely in the hands of Stensballe and his associates who think of nothing but power, men such as the two politicians who, on hearing of John Hagen's misfortune go straight to Johannes Gaardbo and discuss the possibility of his being the next member of the Rigsdag, adding that this must all be the will of Heaven. Is this cant or naïveté? Whatever it is, theirs is a mere travesty of religion. It is a religion which is prepared to accept a gift off a man as unworthy as Søholm merely because it can use it in its "barmhjertighedens politik." Fundamental principles are laid aside and must make way for the demands of the moment. It is scarcely an accident that Pontoppidan has put this into contrast with the occasion referred to above on which Mads Vestrup refused a—much worthier—gesture from Dihmer.⁶

One member of the official church party there is, however, who is treated differently from the rest, and that is Johannes Gaardbo, whom Ahnlund calls one of the most consistently ambivalent of Pontoppidan's figures. In all probability he is intended as a foil to Vestrup, and as a warning. He is another Emanuel Hansted, a man who is a fanatic but at the same time a day-dreamer, and whereas Mads Vestrup at their first meeting in Copenhagen is described as ordinary and unimpressive, Johannes Gaardbo is said to be "overjordisk og eksalteret," two qualities which Pontoppidan dislikes and which in this case, as in that of Emanuel Hansted, result in tragedy. Both of them

⁵ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁶ It is of some interest in this connection to note the similarities between Pontoppidan's criticism of "barmhjertighedens politik" and Jakob Knudsen's treatment of the same subject. The two authors have radically different ideals, but they are agreed as to the nature of the evils besetting Denmark.

place social welfare high on the list of the demands made by Christianity, and neither of them does it just in order to gain popularity; sincere in themselves, they both fall a prey to those who are not. Even from a purely physical point of view they are similar: "Han var en yngre mand med et smukt skæggløst ansigt, der fik karakter af et par klare, blå øjne. Jytte lagde mærke til, at hans hænder var underligt grove for en præst, at frakken var blank under albuen, stråhatten en almindelig stråhat, det sorte slips tyndt som et bændel."⁷ This characteristic of Gaardbo might well be taken straight from the pages of *Det Forjættede Land*. There seems to be a conflict in the author's mind regarding such men, for he must respect them for their sincerity while fearing their ideals. In his search for people with sincerity and a fixed purpose he is aware of the dangers that can ensue.

This conflict in Pontoppidan's mind does not, however, make any essential difference to his judgment of the Church in Denmark, which he generally speaking views with suspicion and fear. We have already seen this mirrored in Mads Vestrup and his work, and it is typical of Pontoppidan that he is able to express the same feelings through the medium of a man of radically different views, Enslev, whose election speech with its violent attack on the Lutheran Church has much in common with the criticisms we hear coming from Mads Vestrup's lips. Their complaints are essentially the same—that the Church is concealing its real intentions; both see in it a movement to acquire power; both fear its liberal theology, one of them seeing in it a serious spiritual danger, the other reaction in disguise. There can be no doubt whatever that this is the author's own view, for nowhere in his work is he more explicit than here.

But Pontoppidan's attitude towards the Church cannot be taken on its own; it must be seen as part of his attitude towards Denmark as a whole. If we take his work as being largely a criticism of the Danish character—and such an interpretation still seems to be valid, even in the light of recent research—then the Lutheran Church must be seen as an agent which fosters precisely those characteristics which Pontoppidan sees as dangerous: their daydreaming, their emotionalism, their material well-being (which he expressly condemns in Lykke Per as leading to mental and spiritual stagnation). Liberal theology, which

⁷ *De Dødes Rige*, 127 (Fifth edition, Copenhagen, 1948.)

Pontoppidan has consistently opposed, has spread, and so have the dangers which it entails.

This is where Mads Vestrup and Pastor Fjaltring enter the picture, for they are preaching a religion which excludes this danger, one which makes demands on people and calls them to account for their faults, one, above all, which is a passion. Pontoppidan is through this perhaps indicating what a faith must be if we are to have one at all. This form of Christianity would at least command his respect, although there is no indication whatever that he would be prepared to accept it as his own. Basing our researches almost entirely on Pontoppidan's literary output we cannot make any precise statement as to his attitude at this particular time; we are limited to the assumption that he is more positive about a form of Christianity in these books than in any of the earlier ones (one can discount his admiration of Thorkild Müller in *Isbjørnen* and the odd admiring remark he has to make on the Irvingians), while at the same time he makes a fundamental and more thoroughly planned attack on the State Church than he has made before. He is searching for virility and sincerity, and it is only in the light of this search that we can judge his attitude towards the Church and Christianity in his later works.

REVIEWS

Einarsson, Stefán, *A History of Icelandic Literature*. The Johns Hopkins Press for the American-Scandinavian Foundation, New York, 1957. Pp. xii+409. \$5.50.

Scholars as well as dilettantes of Icelandic literature have long felt a need for an authoritative survey in English of Icelandic literature. To be sure, Stefán Einarsson's *History of Icelandic Prose Writers: 1800-1940* (1948) and Richard Beck's *History of Icelandic Poets: 1800-1940* (1950) partially overcame the deficiency, but these, as the titles indicate, discussed Icelandic literature only since 1800. One still had to refer to books in Icelandic, Danish, or perhaps Norwegian for a complete survey. Dr. Einarsson's latest book has presented at last the history of this remarkable literature from its beginnings to the present day.

Absolute agreement as to what should go into a history of literature—be it that of any nationality whatsoever—will probably never be reached. Each student and each critic will have his own favorite authors and will want to see their names included and their works discussed. Obviously, some of them must be omitted. So it is in this work. The reviewer misses many names that he had hoped to find and deplores the brief treatment of others who, he feels, might have been discussed in more detail. One example will suffice for illustration: Thorsteinn Jónsson, who writes under the pen name of Thórir Bergsson, has written, in the opinion of the reviewer, some of the finest short stories to come out of Iceland. Only one half page is devoted to him. This seems scarcely adequate. Still, a matter such as the degree of importance of an author must remain relatively subjective. It is remarkable how many poets and writers Professor Einarsson has included and with what penetration and understanding he has discussed their lives and their works. In analyzing the whole field of Icelandic literature from the earliest times to the present day, the author never once loses himself or his reader in unnecessary detail nor overlooks an important contribution. This is no mean feat in tracing something over one thousand years of literary history.

Experts in the field are, of course, so well acquainted with the fact that Icelandic literary tradition reaches back without hiatus and with no major change in the language to very nearly the date of the settlement of the island (874-930) that they will have no difficulty in accepting the author's argument that each succeeding literary form developed naturally and with relatively little external stimulus from the preceding and that the *rímur* served as a cohesive force, binding the new to the old. This continuity of development may come as a surprise, however, to many who think only of the Eddas, the Sagas and the skaldic poetry when the term "Icelandic literature" is used. Einarsson in presenting this point of view, cites example after example so lucidly and so authoritatively that the reader cannot choose but accept his thesis.

The plan of the book is most logical. For the most part it is chronologically arranged, but Einarsson apparently sees no reason to be arbitrary about the details. In this the reviewer concurs. With the exception of the first few chapters, the material of which does not lend itself to such treatment, the author discusses first in each chapter general trends or broad literary movements. He then turns his attention to individual writers, giving a short biography of the author under consideration and a discussion of

his works. Such a technique obviously allows the reader to orient himself in the general aspects of a particular era before he considers the details.

An index of forty-four pages, covering, as the author says, "historical and fictitious persons, Icelandic place names, titles of books (works) in Italics, titles of stories, poems, and articles hyphenated, a list of first lines in Italics (or hyphenated), marked with an asterisk" (p. 364), literary topics, and folklore motifs adds inestimable value to the book. As might be expected in a literature as rich and as old as the Icelandic, there are scores or even hundreds of names of authors, many of the names being similar and certainly confusing to one who does not know the language. This index will help the reader to keep his bearings even if this be his first introduction to Icelandic literature.

Compared to the excellence of the book, the shortcomings are few indeed. The reviewer will, however, permit himself a few suggestions: 1. A good map of Iceland or perhaps several maps, showing the major medieval centers of learning such as Reykjahólt; Hólar, Kirkjubæjarklaustur, Skalahólt, Þingeyjarklaustur, and others and a modern map, showing the major cities and perhaps the districts (*sýslur*) would add interest to the book and would be of great advantage to the reader who is unacquainted with Icelandic geography. 2. The serious student of Icelandic literature may not be confused by Einarsson's reference to authors by their first names, for such is the custom among the Icelanders. The amateur will have to read carefully at times, however, to remember who is being discussed. An example will illustrate what is meant:

Of specifically romantic attitudes or themes, romantic irony was found in Jónas Hallgrímsson (from Heine) and Gröndal, the romantic melancholy (Weltschmerz) in Grímur, Gísli Brynjólfsson, and Kristján Jónsson Fjallaskáld. (p. 226)

Obviously, *Grímur* refers here to Grímur Thorgrímsson Thomsen (1820-1896), but the uninitiated reader will scarcely know that. Either a word of explanation or the inclusion of the second name would identify these authors more clearly. 3. Occasionally an Icelandic (or Danish) title is mentioned with no English translation. For example, *Fjalla-Eyvindur* (discussed on p. 281) is nowhere referred to as *Eyvind of the Hills*, although in the bibliography it is stated that this drama was translated by H. K. Schanche and was published by the American-Scandinavian Foundation in 1916. It is perfectly reasonable for scholars to assume a knowledge of foreign languages on the part of their colleagues, but the reviewer hopes that this book will also find acceptance among general readers. In such a case, at least those works which have appeared in English translation might well be noted.

Despite the observations above and a few others which could be adduced, the fact remains that the book is crystal clear, logically arranged and superbly edited. The reviewer noticed only one misprint not already mentioned in a list of corrections on page 364. The scholarly discipline and the amazing erudition of the author are conspicuous on every page. If greater attention is paid to the older periods of the literature than to the more recent, it is possibly because the author may have felt that the modern period had already been well treated in the two books referred to earlier in this review.

In conclusion, it must be reiterated that this book has long been needed. It is fortunate that someone of the stature of Dr. Stefán Einarsson who knows and loves Icelandic literature yet who writes a clear and expressive English should undertake to interpret this literature for the English-speaking people. It is to be hoped that someday

a more exhaustive treatment may appear—perhaps in several volumes and with selections in translation—but until such a book is written, the reviewer predicts that Stefán Einarsson's *A History of Icelandic Literature* will be the standard work in the English language.

LOFTUR BJARNASON

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Sundqvist, Birger. *Deutsche und niederländische Personenbeinamen in Schweden bis 1420. Beinamen nach Herkunft und Wohnstätte. (Anthroponymica Suecana, 3. Edidit Ivar Modéer)*. Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm, 1957. Pp. 442. 30 crowns.

It is a well known fact that an extensive immigration into Sweden by German merchants, craftsmen, miners and others took place during the late Middle Ages and that this invasion in some areas resulted in a thorough penetration into the Swedish population. The German impact upon the native culture was considerable, and the influence upon the official language threatened toward the end of the Middle Ages to destroy its Scandinavian character. However, the source material from this remote time is rather scarce and the information scattered. Therefore it has not been possible to establish with any certainty and in detail from what parts of Germany the immigrants came or to what extent they settled in various parts of Sweden. We do know that some coastal cities were heavily populated by Germans, e.g. Stockholm, Visby, and Kalmar, but it has been impossible to establish how thorough the German infiltration was in the inland provinces except in the central Swedish mining districts and a few major cities. Of course, many Germans returned, sooner or later, to their homeland, but many settled in Sweden for good, and their descendants created a mixed population. But what social classes were most represented among the immigrants from the continent? These and other problems are studied by Sundqvist in his doctoral dissertation.

Included in the material, as the subtitle of the book indicates, are only such personal bynames that refer to the place of origin or residence of their bearers. The reason for this limitation is obvious: only such bynames give information about the places from which the German settlers came. Thus, a person named *Wilhelm von Eppingen*, who is known to have lived in Visby in the beginning of the fifteenth century, must have come from Eppingen in Baden. In many cases two or more German places with identical or similar names have to be considered as the possible domicile of the immigrant. For instance, a certain *Herman van der Halle*, who lived in Stockholm at the end of the fourteenth century, may have emigrated from any of several German places named *Halle*. Sometimes a byname may be etymologized in more ways than one. This applies to the name *Johannes Ghro(u)we*, who lived in Kalmar in the beginning of the fifteenth century. He may have come from one of several places named *Grove*, *Grouw* etc., or he may have lived by a trench or pit (=Middle Low German *grove*, *f.*) or at a street or a watercourse by that name. Or his name may describe him as big or strong (=Middle Low German *grof*). The author is always anxious to find and state the alternatives and, if possible, evaluate them.

The material included in the investigation extends over about a century and a half, i.e. from the last decades of the thirteenth century, when German personal names begin to occur in large numbers in Swedish sources, to 1420, the year when one of the most im-

portant printed sources, *Svenskt Diplomatarium från och med 1401*, ceases and when the material, especially from Stockholm, assumes enormous proportions.

More than eighty per cent of the dissertation consists of extremely bulky material from medieval sources. Enormous labor and much time must have been expended in collecting this vast material. It is preceded by a seventy-five page introduction in which several important conclusions are drawn on the basis of the recorded material. This order between material and discussion is a matter of possible dispute, but it gives the impression that the author considers the material as the most important part of his thesis, and the anticipated conclusions are given more or less in passing.

The material is divided into four types: 1. *Ortsnamnen*, i.e. bynames identical with names of habitations with or without preposition, e.g. *Kozelow, de Kyle, van Horn, van der Horst*. This group is beyond comparison the largest. 2. *Örtlichkeitsbeinamen*, i.e. bynames identical with names of topographical categories or parts of cities, with or without preposition, e.g. *Dornebusk* ('hawthorn bush'), *Appelbom* ('appletree'), *van der Smede* (Middle Low German *smede* 'a smithy'), *up de Goten* (Middle Low German *göte, göle* 'a gutter, an outlet'). Quite often it is impossible to distinguish between the first and second type. 3. In this group are included several names derived from place-names by means of suffixes and denoting a person as belonging to a people or a tribe, as a dweller in a certain territory, on a river, etc., e.g. *Traveman* 'a man living on the river Trave', *Hollander* 'a Dutchman', *Kölnare* 'a person from Cologne', *Hamburgensis* 'from Hamburg.' 4. Bynames identical with names of nationalities and tribes, e.g. *Prutze* 'a Prussian', *Westfal* 'a Westphalian.'

Each name is treated as a separate little article. First the forms recorded in Swedish medieval manuscripts and printed sources are given. Each form is accompanied by accurate information about the source, and its date and also about the place to which it pertains. Thereafter follows a survey of the occurrence of the same name in Germany and the Netherlands, if possible with indication of the social status of the pertinent persons. Finally, there is an etymological section in which the byname is identified with continental place-names. Quite frequently the bynames may have other alternative origins. It may, for instance, be a regular appellative word; see above. In many cases the author is able to justify a preference in favor of one or the other alternative. His judgment and discrimination seem to be sound, unbiased and full of acumen. Only on a few occasions does this reviewer feel inclined to disagree. The byname *Barsebek* belongs to a person living in Skåne about 1400. The author assumes that he came from *Barsbek* in Slesvig-Holstein. Another possibility, namely that his domicile was *Barsebäck* in Skåne, which in this case is definitely more likely, is indicated only by reference to two works in which this alternative is mentioned. The fact that the person's given name was *Henrik*, which originally is German, is inconclusive since this name appeared in Skåne as early as the eleventh century. A certain *Paulus Swartebeke* became a burgher of Kalmar in 1414. The author regards him as a German from either one of two places named *Schwarzenbek* in Slesvig-Holstein or from *Schwarzenbek* in Rendsburg. He gives no reason why he disregards the possibility that he came from one of the many places named *Svartbäck(en)*, *Svartebeck(en)* in Sweden.

The introductory chapter, although comparatively short, is packed with weighty contents. The author first explains his limitation of the material and then gives a short historical account of the German influx into Sweden. He then deals briefly with some

fundamental problems related to the study of German bynames in Sweden, e.g. the influence of the foreign names upon the native nomenclature and vice versa. He also illustrates the many difficulties involved in the identification and etymologization of the name forms in Swedish sources, in distinguishing between Swedish and German names, in establishing whether a German name was formed in Germany or in Sweden, etc. The byname *Swinakula*, which Hellquist, *Fornsvenska tillnamn* (in *Xenia Lideniana*, Stockholm, 1912) considered Swedish, is by Sundqvist much more convincingly explained as a Swedized form of either of the two German place-names *Schwienkuhlen* (two places) in Slesvig-Holstein or *Schwienkuhl* in Oldenburg. Hellquist, who did not know the material available today, did not pay attention to the German nature of the first name of the name carriers. Hellquist interpreted the byname *Oslare* correctly as a derivative of the name *Ösel* (in the Baltic), but Sundqvist shows that it is a German rather than a Swedish formation.

In the introductory chapter the author also discusses the interesting process through which bynames developed into family names. The course of this phenomenon in Scandinavia is worth a thorough and exhaustive investigation. Hitherto only intimations or general statements have been ventured. In Germany this process began among the nobility as early as the tenth century, but real family names did not become common until the twelfth century, in some areas considerably later. In Sweden, inherited family names gained currency considerably later. It is, then, only natural to assume that the German practice in regard to such names strongly influenced and accelerated the same development in Sweden.

As to the information given by the bynames about the name-carriers' birth-places and domiciles it is often desirable to distinguish between *Wohnstättebeinamen*, i.e. place-names or derivatives thereof given to persons who lived at the places in question when their bynames were formed, and *Herkunftsamen*, i.e. such names that are given to persons who had left the place for which they later were named. The former names, when transferred to Sweden, give definite information about the native places of the immigrants. This may be true also for the latter type, but it is possible that these names refer to the immigrants' last places of residence, which are not always the same as their native places. In dealing with names from the Medieval Ages it is in practice most often impossible to make a distinction between the two types, and in such cases this basis of distinction has only an academic interest. This reviewer fails to see the importance of the discussion of this problem since it is not of any perceptible value to the results of the investigation. The author's approach is a manifestation of an old hereditary inclination of the Teutonic race of systematizing *in absurdum*. We are in a much better position to solve the pertinent problems if we descend to the level on which the procedure of name-giving took place. The reviewer is happy to announce that the author in his actual treatment of his material did not pay much attention to such abstract and subtle theories. There is a definite need for a primitive approach to the psychologically interesting phenomenon of name-giving. The only scholar who up to this day has consistently recognized the necessity and value of this attitude to onomastic problems is the great progenitor, now nestor, of Scandinavian onomatology, Jöran Sahlgren. Sundqvist has not had the advantage of being a student of Sahlgren's.

As may be expected, the majority of the German immigrants to Sweden came from the Low German area, the Rhineland and the Netherlands. The author's material gives

solid evidence of that. Furthermore, Sundqvist is able to establish the interesting fact that among the German immigrants people of noble birth came mainly from the territory east of the Elbe, especially Mecklenburg, while those of the bourgeois class for the most part emigrated from regions west of the Elbe, Westphalia, the Rhineland and the Netherlands. The reader would have liked to see an attempt at an explanation of this geographical distribution.

On the whole, Sundqvist's dissertation is a fine piece of solid historiolinguistic work, based on good knowledge and mastery of the pertinent fields of study. The dissertation is Volume 3 of the series of treatises named *Anthroponymica Suecana*, edited by Professor Ivar Modéer of Uppsala, who single-handedly wrote Volume 1, *Personnamn i Kalmar Tänkebok* (*Personal Names in the Medieval Memorandum Book of Kalmar*), 1955. The second volume consisted of a number of essays on *Personnamn från medeltid och 1500-tal* (*Studies on Medieval and Sixteenth Century Personal Names*), 1957. Volume 4, to be published in 1958, has been announced as Carl-Eric Thors' *Finländska personnamnstudier* (*Studies on Personal Names in Finland*). Despite its youth, this series promises to be of outstanding value. The objective pursued is stated on the back cover of Sundqvist's book in the following words: "In this series there will be published studies on the names of Swedish men and women, primarily for the purpose of preparing a dictionary of Old Swedish personal names, which is planned by the Swedish Personal Name Committee ('Personnamnskommittén')." We will hope that the future dictionary of Swedish personal names will soon become a reality. While the medieval given names of Denmark are available in the great work *Danmarks gamle Personnavne* and the Danish by-names have been published up to and including the letter *r*, and the Norwegian medieval names have to a large extent been published in E. H. Lind's *Norsk-isländska dopnamn och färgade namn från medeltiden* (with supplement) and by the same author *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden*, the Swedish medieval personal nomenclature is known primarily from Lundgren-Brate-Lind's *Svenska personnamn från medeltiden* (in *Svenska landsmålen*, Vol. 10), a most unreliable source, and this reviewer's essay in *Nordisk Kultur*, Vol. 7, partly written on the basis of personally collected material. The time used for the writing of the latter, comparatively short survey recurs to this reviewer's memory as days of horror and uselessness. But better days will come.

ASSAR JANZÉN

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Svenska folkmål. Records and textbook. Edited by Folke Hedblom. Swedish Society Discofil, Stockholm, 1957.

This work consists of three long-playing records with specimens of dialects from all the Swedish provinces and a booklet, containing transcriptions of the texts with notes and in certain cases translations into Standard Swedish. The records are produced by the Swedish Society Discofil, and the textbook has been compiled by Dr. Folke Hedblom, head of the phonograph department at the Swedish Dialect Archives in Uppsala.

The interest in provincial idioms and dialects has very deep roots in Scandinavia. In Sweden it actually goes back to the seventeenth century, when the country emerged from the Thirty Years' War as a Great Power. This sudden transformation resulted in a kind of excessive nationalism: it was felt, that in order to be presentable, the country had to have a glorious history, a national literature, and a language that would

be comparable to German and French. In order to create such a language foreign loan-words should be weeded out and replaced with native words from Old Swedish and the dialects. Although the goal was not attained, the interest survived, and in the eighteenth century it resulted in Johan Ihre's famous dictionary *Glossarium Suio-Gothicum*, which contains a large number of dialect words. But Ihre had few followers, and it was not until the middle part of the nineteenth century that the universities began to show any real interest in this kind of study. Now some professors encouraged their students to choose their dialects as dissertation topics; a new dictionary—Johan Rietz' *Svenskt Dialekt-Lexikon*—appeared in 1867; a special alphabet for phonetic transcriptions was created in 1877 (which is still used with certain modifications), and teachers and students started to organize societies for the purpose of collecting dialect material, folklore and folkmusic.

One of the most important events in the history of Swedish dialect research, however, took place in 1914 when *Landsmålsarkivet* (the Archives for Dialect Research) was founded in Uppsala. The start was rather modest: one room, two workers and a budget of 7,500 kronor or about \$1,500. Today, 44 years later, it is an impressive institution with branch archives in Gothenburg and Lund.

Impressive is also the material that those institutions have collected and saved from oblivion. Naturally, the quality varies somewhat, depending on the skill of the field-workers and the tools and methods that have been employed. During the first decades practically everything was written down by hand, and it simply wasn't possible for the field-workers to keep up with the speed of the informants. Digressions, needless repetitions, illogically connected phrases, incomplete statements, and other characteristics of the spoken language were often left out or corrected, and hence the result was a more or less edited reproduction of the actual speech.

Later, this problem was eliminated, thanks to the use of such technical devices as phonographs and tape-records, and it is estimated that *Landsmålsarkivet* now possesses a larger and better collection of recordings of dialects than any similar institution in the world. The high quality of the work is evidenced by the samples from 37 dialects which have now been selected and edited by Dr. Hedblom. The editor mentions that the work is primarily intended for the instruction in Swedish in higher schools in Sweden. However, it should be pointed out that the records would be exceedingly useful also to teachers of Swedish in foreign countries, who would like to illustrate the almost unbelievable variety of dialects within a small country like Sweden, as well as the big differences between the dialects and the standard language. I would also think that many immigrants—or their descendants—would enjoy hearing the idiom of the area they or their forefathers came from.

The records cost 33.00 kronor each and the textbook 4.50. They can be obtained from Discofil, Frödingsvägen 3, Stockholm K.

GÖSTA FRANZEN
University of Chicago

Haakonsen, Daniel. *Henrik Ibsens realisme*. H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), Oslo, 1957. Pp. 165.

Dr. Haakonsen of the University of Oslo has to his credit, among other critical contributions, an excellent study of Henrik Wergeland (*Skabelsen i Henrik Wergelands*

diktning, Oslo, 1951) and several important articles in *Vinduet* (for example: "Systemtenkning of opplevelse," No. 1, 1954; "Mot epos," No. 2, 1954; "Epos, drama og lyrikk," No. 4, 1954; and "Genre-problemet i 'Peer Gynt'." No. 3, 1954.) He is a perceptive critic, who writes from a broad background in European literature and criticism, while he at the same time reveals an independent critical approach. His writing is always informative and refreshing, opening up new avenues of interest in whatever subject he puts his hand to. His style is clear and readable, his method is logical yet imaginative, his thought incisive and penetrating. All these matters are applicable to the volume under review.

Haakonsen's study of Ibsen's realism is divided into four sections, the first being a presentation of the problem and a clear definition of what he means by realism. This is followed by three longer sections on as many plays: *The Wild Duck*, *Rosmersholm*, and *John Gabriel Borkman*. The method employed in analyzing the three plays is the same, but the results achieved are somewhat different. Best of the three studies is that of *The Wild Duck*, that of *John Gabriel Borkman* is commendable, while the one of *Rosmersholm* appears to me to be somewhat less successful.

Realism in the drama of the 1880's and 1890's has of late been subjected to devastating criticism. Dr. Haakonsen, in *Henrik Ibsens realisme*, has defended Ibsen's use of this technique, for it served him as a means and not as an end. Ibsen was interested in far more than a realistic presentation of situation and of character. His ultimate aim was to represent through the realistic technique the profoundest conflict in man.

In his discussion of *The Wild Duck* Haakonsen has been unusually successful, although I disagree with some aspects of his presentation of Hedvig's relation to the symbol of the wild duck, and I fail to note any mention of the irony involved in Hjalmar's dependence upon Hedvig's childish faith in his invention and in his mission. In *John Gabriel Borkman*, it seems to me, something more is involved than what Haakonsen has presented. I refer specifically to the kind of character that Ibsen has envisaged in John Gabriel. He is an unusual personality, as Haakonsen of course knows, but he is a nonartistic creative personality, in most essentials closely akin to Solness of *The Master Builder*. A somewhat different interpretation results when John Gabriel is approached from this point of view, and it simply remains a matter of personal taste which conclusion the individual reader prefers.

It is in his analysis of *Rosmersholm* that I differ more noticeably with Dr. Haakonsen. He speaks of this drama as "et borgerlig drama i fire akter—et kjaerlighetsdrama som utspiller seg mot en politisk bakgrunn." I regard *Rosmersholm* as high tragedy, although it is unsuccessfully executed, and I do not hold that Rebecca is ennobled by the Rosmer view of life at the end of the play. It seems clear that idealism, represented by Rosmer, goes down to defeat while the materialism of the opportunist Mortensgaard triumphs. The supreme irony of the play is thus that both Rebecca and Rosmer meet defeat in the end. The play concludes on a defeatist note and not in the spirit of stoical (not heroic) triumph, as Dr. Haakonsen states.

There obviously is more than one valid approach to any Ibsen play, and although I do not agree with all of Dr. Haakonsen's conclusions, I feel that he has made a very important contribution to Ibsen scholarship with *Henrik Ibsens realisme*. No serious student of Ibsen can well neglect this work.

SVERRE ÅREÅSTAD
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Robichez, Jacques. *Le Symbolisme au théâtre. Lugné-Poe et les débuts de L'Œuvre*. L'Arche, Paris, 1957. Pp. 568.

The topic which Jacques Robichez has investigated in the impressive volume by means of which he has won his Ph.D. at the University of Paris is an important one which earlier research had hardly touched. Among the dissertations which have lately been presented at the Sorbonne Robichez' deserves a very special interest among Scandinavianists, largely because of the excellent fashion in which his book explains an important point in Scandinavian-French cultural ties at the end of the nineteenth century.

From 1890 on the naturalist André Antoine introduced Scandinavian drama to the French by presenting plays by Henrik Ibsen, Björnsterne Björnson and August Strindberg. But it was Antoine's competitor and enemy A. M. Lugné-Poe who a few years later at his Théâtre de L'Œuvre brought Norwegian and Swedish drama to a victory in Paris which justified Joseph Texte's classification of the years 1890-1898 as "la période scandinave."

In this review of Robichez' valuable book I shall deal only with Lugné-Poe's introduction of Scandinavian drama in France. Robichez' treatment of the wealth of material is competent, and his book is an important contribution to the history of the cultural currents in Europe at the close of the century.

Robichez' colleagues in Denmark, Norway and Sweden have been delighted in the past with rewarding cooperation and exchange of ideas with this able scholar, and his dissertation is a reminder of the necessity of foreign contacts for the scholar engaged in research in the history of ideas and the history of literature.

In Guy Michaud's basic work *Message poétique du Symbolisme* there is an obvious gap. The author has completely refrained from investigating the Scandinavian writers'—above all Ibsen's—significance for the symbolists in Paris in the 1890's. In a conversation with this reviewer a few years ago M. Michaud expressed his regret about not having had the opportunity to do so. Jacques Robichez fills part of this gap, however: he considers, even if only in passing, the Scandinavian dramas presented on the symbolist scene *par excellence* in Paris—Lugné-Poe's Théâtre de L'Œuvre.

The dissertation is highly interesting and attractively written. Swedish readers may well complain, however, that August Strindberg has been somewhat unjustly treated as compared to the treatment that Ibsen and Björnson, his Norwegian competitors for the favor of the Paris audiences, receive. But this criticism is very much outweighed when one totals the wealth of knowledge one gains from Robichez' generous and otherwise thorough book. It is indispensable to anyone engaged in the study of the particular period.

STELLAN AHLSTRÖM
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Bjork, Kenneth O. *West of the Great Divide: Norwegian Migration to the Pacific Coast, 1847-1893*. The Lund Press, Minneapolis, for the Norwegian-American Historical Association, Northfield, Minn. Pp. 636. \$7.50.

West of the Great Divide treats Norwegian settlement on the Pacific Coast against the background of the whole social, cultural, political, and economic developments of

this area with particular emphasis upon those activities that the Norwegians were engaged in: the church, business, farming, lumbering, shipping, and fishing. The Norwegians migrated into this area in large part from the older settlements in the Middle West, many coming directly, but others making longer or shorter stays in the Dakotas, Montana, Utah and Idaho, creating the effect of a slow, ever-increasing wave of western movement. Some of the settlers came directly from Norway and others finally arrived either in San Francisco or Seattle after having spent years at sea as officers or seamen. Of the Norwegians who remained farther east, Professor Bjork has given particular attention in one section to the Mormons in Utah and in another to the Norwegians in Montana, the latter centered around the lumber baron, Holter.

Although Professor Bjork has made excellent use of the little material that is available on various aspects of Norwegian settlement on the Pacific Coast—the records of church activity are by far the most extensive—he has rather relied upon the numerous letters that the immigrants themselves wrote to the Norwegian press in the Middle West and on the Pacific Coast. *West of the Great Divide* is thus basically the pioneers' own story, controlled statistically, supplemented, and formulated into an engagingly readable account of the hopes and the achievements, the struggles and the reverses of many people who through the sympathetic understanding of the author rise above "statistics" to become individuals.

Two welcome features of *West of the Great Divide* are (1) the cultural background of the immigrants and (2) the frequent treatment of Danish and Swedish groups that were engaged in the same enterprises as the Norwegians. Three matters particularly come to mind: the Mormon settlement in Utah, where among Scandinavians the Danes predominated; sailing on the Pacific Coast, which had a general Scandinavian participation; and certain cultural and church activities on the Coast.

With this work Professor Bjork has established the main principles of Norwegian migration westward, and in most areas he has presented definitive discussions. Although certain minor alterations might well develop in some specific areas when individual studies are eventually made on the activities of the Norwegian settlers in this region, no important changes in Professor Bjork's general conclusions are conceivable. *West of the Great Divide* impresses the reader as being a definitive work, while at the same time it opens up many avenues for further research, revealing thus the dual values of this study.

With the publication of *West of the Great Divide* another important chapter has been added to the ever-growing documentation of Norwegian settlement in the United States, Canada and Alaska. Professor Bjork's impressive work, in a qualitative as well as in a quantitative sense, is the result of ten years of research and writing. When the reader considers that no treatment has been given the whole subject previously, he is moved to admiration that so vast and heterogeneous a mass of material has been marshalled into shape, even in the span of a decade, by a person already heavily committed to his professional duties. We eagerly await volume two of this study.

SVERRE ARESTAD
University of Washington

NOTES

LILLEHAMMER. Professor Børge Gedde Madsen of Berkeley reports: "The First International Conference on Scandinavian Studies was held in Cambridge, England, from July 2 to 7, 1956. Professor Einar Haugen, who attended that conference, contributed an interesting account to *Scandinavian Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1. The first international meeting devoted to Scandinavian languages and literatures was so successful that it became possible to arrange for a second conference in 1958. This conference, which was attended by fifty-two participants from twelve nations, took place at Nansenskolen in Lillehammer, Norway, from July 7 to 12.

"The beautiful, peaceful town of Lillehammer proved to be an ideal location for the meeting. Like the first international conference on Scandinavian studies, the second aimed at combining the instructive and the pleasant. Between scholarly papers excursions were arranged to points of historical and general interest. At the open-air museum of Maihaugen in Lillehammer members of the conference were taken on a guided tour through the famous Sandvig collections; visits were also arranged to the home of Karoline and Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson in nearby Aulestad, and to Sigrid Undset's home at Bjerkebak. Of particular interest was an informal orientation about Nansenskolen and its educational activities given by the gracious director of the school, Mr. Halvard Forfang. One feature of the conference which combined the instructive and the pleasant in an excellent manner was the reading by the young Norwegian poet Paal Brekke of some of his own poetry.

"The general topic for the Second International Conference on Scandinavian Study was: *Experiment and Renewal in*

Modern Scandinavian Literature. The terms *experiment* and *renewal* were given a rather broad interpretation by several of the speakers, as will be seen from the titles of some of the papers. Swedish writers discussed were Eyvind Johnson (by Örjan Lindberger) and Harry Martinson and his work *Aniara* (by P. M. Boerden Hoed from the Netherlands). Gustav Albeck from the University of Aarhus gave a general introduction to the work of the Danish poet Poul Sørensén, who is little known outside of Denmark. The German professor Siegfried Beyschlag had prepared a paper on "Kaj Munk's Drama with Special Reference to *Ordet*"; in the absence of Professor Beyschlag this paper was read by Professor Chr. Westergaard-Nielsen from the University of Aarhus. Papers on Norwegian literary subjects were "Axel Sandemose: *Det svundne er en drøm*" (by R. G. Popperwell) and "Olav Aukrust—Some Features of His Poetry" (by Leif Mæhle). Papers which had little direct reference to the general topic under discussion were: "The Development of the Norwegian Language since 1814" (by Einar Lundebj), "The Teaching of Scandinavian Languages and Literatures" (by Torbjørn Stöverud), and "Words in Memoriam of Brita Mortensen, Cambridge, and Her Work *Hjalmar Bergman and the Swedish Novel*" (by A. H. J. Knight, read by Elias Bredsdorff). The papers were read in Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, or English, and the discussions were conducted in the same languages. In fact, it was one of the genuinely international features of the conference that most of the participants seemed to be able to understand and speak at least two of these four languages. Dr. P. M. Boerden Hoed from the Netherlands impressed her listeners by presenting her paper on Harry Martinson in excellent Swedish and by answering questions in Swedish and Danish.

"After two successful international conferences on Scandinavian studies there is little doubt that other similar conferences will follow. The next one will probably be held in a non-Scandinavian west-European country. Perhaps the greatest value of such meetings is the personal contacts which they promote between scholars and teachers from a great many different nations. On this score much still remains to be achieved, however. Teachers of Scandinavian languages and literatures in the United States need to know more about what is being done in their field in European countries outside of Scandinavia, and teachers of Scandinavian on the European continent certainly ought to be better oriented about Scandinavian activities in American universities than they are at present. Because of the differences in organization between European and American universities, the objectives and methods of the American professor of Scandinavian often differ somewhat from those of his European colleague. A more intimate exchange of ideas and experiences between their two countries would be most beneficial to both of them. If the international conferences on Scandinavian studies could achieve this, they would have accomplished a great deal; and by so doing they would, at the same time, have become even more truly international than they are today."

ADDRESS. Dr. Loftur Bjarnason, secretary-treasurer of SASS, has moved to Monterey, California, where he is professor of literature at the U. S. Naval Postgraduate School. Since entering upon the new post on July 1, he has been organizing a curriculum in the humanities for naval officers assigned to the school after tours of active duty.

KARLSTAD. Thursday, August 14, through Sunday, August 17, were four crowded days devoted to the annual meet-

ing of the Scandinavian Authors' Association, the first annual meeting of the Lagerlöf Society (founded a year ago), and the festivities marking the beginning of the centennial celebration of the birth of Selma Lagerlöf. The settings for all the events were the beautiful capital of Värmland and the nearby Lagerlöf country.

Present during these four days as foreign participants were Professors Harold Borland of the University of Manchester, Walter Johnson of the University of Washington, Hans Kuhn of the University of Kiel, and Élie Poulénard of the University of Strasbourg, and the Lagerlöf scholar, Dr. Stine de Vrieze of Amsterdam. Professor Tetsuzo Kagawa, Japanese translator of Lagerlöf's books, had been the guest of various Swedish groups throughout most of the summer and was an interested observer at Karlstad.

The centennial celebrations which will culminate in November on Selma Lagerlöf's actual birthday included in addition to the two meetings three dinners—on Thursday, Värmland's dinner for the Scandinavian authors and other guests; on Friday, the Swedish Authors' Association's dinner; and on Sunday, Karlstad's dinner for participants in the authors' meeting and other guests. On Saturday, all the guests were taken by bus to various literary landmarks in Värmland—Geijersgården near Ransäter, Selma Lagerlöf's Mårbacka, and Rottneros (Ekeby in *The Saga of Gösta Berling*), where Dr. Svante Pålsson gave a luncheon for all participants. After the stay at Rottneros, the guests were taken by bus to Kolsnäsudden near Sunne where they had the opportunity to see a performance of Ivar Lindahl's colorful Selma Lagerlöf play, directed by the gifted actress Irma Christenson, who also played the rôle of Selma Lagerlöf. The rest of the cast were amateurs. On Sunday afternoon Prince Wil-

helm unveiled Arvid Backlund's statue of Selma Lagerlöf in Teaterparken and shortly afterwards the memorial tributes to Selma Lagerlöf were given in the Cathedral; Harry Martinson read his memorial poem; writers from the other Scandinavian countries paid brief tributes—Palle Lauring (Denmark), Karin Alardt-Ekelund (Swedish-speaking Finland), Jarl Lauhija (Finnish-speaking Finland), Thorunn Elva Magnusdottir (Iceland), and Philip Houm (Norway). Thyra Freding, well known to every visitor to Mårbacka, read Selma Lagerlöf's famous account of her father's birthday (August 17), and the opera singer Helga Görlin sang "Värmlandsvisan."

The first annual meeting of *Selma Lagerlöfsällskapet* on Sunday was notable chiefly because of an excellent talk on Selma Lagerlöf and the literature of the other Scandinavian countries by Dr. Stellan Arvidson, president of the Swedish Authors' Association, and by the highly encouraging report on the Society's first year given by Ulla Britta Lagerroth, the secretary-treasurer. Not only have more than one thousand people become members, but the Society was able to publish its first volume of Lagerlöf studies in time for this meeting. The annual membership fee has been set at ten crowns in each of the Scandinavian countries and two dollars in the United States.

Of special interest at the annual meeting of the Scandinavian Authors' Association on Friday were Dr. Gunnar Ahlström's talk on Scandinavian literature and the world market and the ensuing discussion in which writers from the various Scandinavian countries participated. Dr. Ahlström proposed, among other things, a realistic approach to the problem of making Scandinavian literature available in English or American translation. Questioning the value of the Nordic Council's

ambitious project, Dr. Ahlström recommended instead that each country provide an initially small number of books in competent translation in inexpensive editions. The members of the Association adopted a resolution which for the most part embodied Dr. Ahlström's suggestions.

HANDBOOK. The fifth edition of the *American-Swedish Handbook* (Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill. Pp. 136) is now available. The table of contents suggests what a wealth of information the book contains: "Diplomatic and Consular Representation," "National, Regional and Local Organizations in the United States (Cultural, Historical, Professional, Commercial, Fraternal, Local)," "Organizations and Agencies in Sweden Concerned with American Relations and Interests (Cultural, Social, Fraternal, News)," "Swedish Information Services in the United States," "American-Swedish Communications," "American-Swedish Cultural Relations, 1953-57," "The Nobel Prizes," "Churches," "Welfare Institutions," "Educational Institutions," "Swedish-American Publications," "Publishers and Booksellers," "Instruction in Swedish," "Materials for the Study of Swedish," "English Translations of Swedish Books into English, 1951-1955," "Doctoral Dissertations of Swedish Interest, 1952-1956," "Research in Progress of Swedish Interest," and "Swedish Stock in the United States."

LIBRARY. The Scandinavian literature section of the UCLA library recently became the richer by some 450 volumes, chiefly in the field of modern lyric poetry, donated by the Swedish stage and screen actor, Anders Andelius. Part of the young Swede's private library, these volumes are in addition to some 8000 volumes gathered by him in Sweden and distributed to Swedish organizations in half a dozen American communities during 1958.

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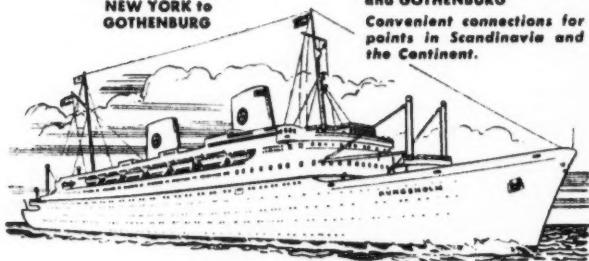
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